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Louis XIV., King of France.
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CLEAR VIEW
OF THE
French KING'S
BONA FIDE:
OR

SACRED REGARD to his most
Solemn Promises and Oaths in
TREATIES of PEACE;
NAMESLY

In those of the *Pyrenees*, *Aix la Chapelle*,
Nimeguen, the *Twenty Years Truce*,
and that of PARTITION.

To which are added the

PRELIMINARIES,
Settled at the *HAGUE*, 1709.

And those done at *LONDON* this
Present Year.

LONDON:

Printed for *J. Baker*, at the *Black
Boy* in *Pater Noster-Row*. 1711.

~~CLERK VIEW~~

THE

Francis K. L. N. G. S.

BONAFIDE

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THE
P R E F A C E.

WHILE so many Writers, of all Degrees, are daily busying themselves to produce something New to the Publick about Peace with *France*, I will take the Liberty to say, That those who argue with most Vehemence for it at this Juncture, seem to imagine, that the People of *England* are either very ignorant of what has pass'd in the World, or very much subject to Forgetfulness. Certainly the Question, What is a good Peace, or a bad one? is of a much older Date than the present Ministry, or even the former; and can only be

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Preface.

rightly solv'd by the Recollection and Judgment of what has been Publickly transacted in *Europe*, in a long Course of Years. And therefore, instead of amusing People with new-fangled Arguments upon an old beaten Subject, I shall first lay it down for a Foundation, That the *reducing the exorbitant Power of France*, was the Design propos'd by the High Allies, when they enter'd into this War; because Experience had shewn, that unless the most Christian King could be depriv'd of that Power, he never would want the Will to break any Treaty which should be made with him. Now, to justify that Design of the Allies, and prove the Necessity of continuing the War till it can be obtain'd, I here present the Publick with a general Account of the *French King's* Violation of all the Treaties yet made with him for securing the Quiet of Christendom. And because his Infractions of the Peace made at *Ni-*

Preface.

Nimeguen, were more numerous than any other, and serve to give a perfect Idea of the Court of France and of their Method of Proceeding; nothing can more deserve the Publick Attention, than the following particular Relation of those Infractions, which was suppos'd to be written in 1684. by Don Pedro Ronquillo, Ambassadour of Spain at the Court of England, and is here Printed in full. To that Relation I shall premise a short View of the Violations of the Treaties preceding, and subsequent to that of *Nimeguen*; and at the End, add the Preliminary Articles at large, which were settled at the *Hague*, 1709. and those done at *London* in 1711.

The Treaty of the Pyrenees, made in 1659. has the following Article.

TH O' His most Christian Majesty would never engage himself, notwithstanding the earnest

Preface:

‘ earnest Instances, and even the
‘ very considerable Offers that have
‘ been frequently made to him, not
‘ to agree to a Peace without inclu-
‘ ding the Kingdom of *Portugal* in
‘ it, because *he foresaw and apprehen-*
‘ *ded* that such an *Engagement*, might
‘ be an *unsurmountable Obstacle* to the
‘ Conclusion of the said Peace, and
‘ consequently reduce the two Kings
‘ to a Necessity of *perpetuating the*
‘ *War*. Nevertheless, his most Chri-
‘ stian Majesty, most passionately
‘ desiring to see the Kingdom of
‘ *Portugal* enjoy the same Tranqui-
‘ lity, which so many other Christi-
‘ an States will acquire by the pre-
‘ sent Treaty, has for this End of-
‘ fer’d a good Number of Propositi-
‘ ons and Expedients, which he
‘ thought might be to the Satisfa-
‘ ction of his Catholick Majesty:
‘ And among these, notwithstanding
‘ (as is abovesaid) his Majesty was
‘ under no Engagement in this Af-
‘ fair, he went so far, as to be wil-
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Preface.

ling to deprive himself of the principal Fruit of the Success, which his Arms have had in the Course of so long a War, Offering, besides the Places which he restores by the present Treaty to his Catholick Majesty, to restore to him likewise all the other Conquests in general, which his said Arms have made in this War, and to re-establish the Prince of Conde, provided, and on Condition, that the Affairs of the Kingdom of Portugal, should be left in the Condition they are at present; Which his Catholick Majesty refusing to accept, has offer'd only, that in Consideration of the powerful Offices of the said most Christian King, he would consent to the resetting the Affairs of the said Kingdom of Portugal, in the same Condition they were before the Alteration that happen'd there in the Month of December, 1640. pardoning and granting a general Abolition of all that is past, and consenting to re-

A 4 establish

Preface.

‘ establish in their Estates, Honours
‘ and Dignities, all those, without
‘ Distinction of Person or Persons,
‘ who, returning to the Obedience
‘ of his Catholick Majesty, shall
‘ qualify themselves to enjoy the Be-
‘ nefit of the present Peace. Upon
‘ the whole, in Contemplation of
‘ *the Peace*, and considering the *abso-*
‘ *lute Necessity* which his most Chri-
‘ stian Majesty finds himself in to
‘ perpetuate the War, which *he is*
‘ *convinc’d would be inevitable*, in case
‘ he should *persist longer* to require this
‘ Affair of his Catholick Majesty, in
‘ *other Conditions* than those offer’d
‘ by him as aforesaid: And seeing
‘ his most Christian Majesty *ought*,
‘ *and is willing to prefer* (as *’tis but*
‘ *just*) *the general Repose of Christen-*
‘ *dom to the particular Interest of the*
‘ *Kingdom of Portugal*, for the Ad-
‘ vantage, and in Favour of which
‘ he has already omitted nothing
‘ that was in his Power, so far as to
‘ make such great Offers as are
‘ above said:

Preface.

‘ above said : It is finally agreed
‘ and concluded between the two
‘ Kings, That his most Christian
‘ Majesty shall be allow’d Three
‘ Months Time, to be reckon’d
‘ from the Day of exchanging the
‘ Ratifications of the present Trea-
‘ ty ; during which he may send to
‘ the said Kingdom of Portugal, to en-
‘ deavour to dispose Matters for ad-
‘ justing and settling this Affair, in
‘ such Sort, that his Catholick Ma-
‘ jesty may be fully satisfy’d there-
‘ with : *After the Expiration of*
‘ which Three Months, if the En-
‘ deavours and Offices of his said
‘ most Christian Majesty can not
‘ produce the Effect propos’d,
‘ his said Majesty *shall not concern*
‘ *himself any more in the said Affair,*
‘ and PROMISES, OBLIGES,
‘ and ENGAGES himself, on his
‘ HONOUR, and on the FAITH
‘ and WORD of a KING, for
‘ *Himself and his Successors,* not to
‘ give to the said Kingdom of Por-
‘ tugal

Preface.

‘*tugal* in common, nor to any Person or Persons of it in particular, of what Dignity, Estate, Quality, or Condition soever they be, *now* or *hereafter*, any AID or ASSISTANCE, PUBLICK or SECRET, DIRECTLY or INDIRECTLY, of Men, Arms, Ammunition, Provisions, Ships, or Money, under ANY PRETEXT, nor any other Thing that is or may be imagin’d, by Land or by Sea, or in any other Manner: As also not to permit any LEVIES to be made in any Part of his Kingdoms and Dominions, nor to grant Passage to any that may offer to come from other States, to succour the said Kingdom of Portugal.’

Never was more Precaution and Exactness us’d than in framing and wording this Article: I defy the Wit of Man to conceive and express an Article on a like Subject, in more comprehensive, positive, and bind-

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Preface.

ing Terms. But what avail'd all this? Soon after the Conclusion of this Peace, his most Christian Majesty disbanded a great Body of his best Troops, in a Part of his Kingdom that lay most convenient for their imbarcking for *Portugal*; and at the same time Count *Schomberg*, being dismiss'd his Service, was soon at *Lisbon* with about 8000 of those disbanded Men, who carry'd with them (for the most Part in *French* Bottoms) great Quantities of Arms and Ammunition: In short, they were continued in *Portugal*, receiving Recruits constantly from *France*. The *Spaniards* exclaim'd loudly against this Breach of the *Honour, Faith, and Word* of a King; but all that the Court of *France* condescended to say to it, was, That neither Count *Schomberg*, nor any under his Command, had any Commission from his most Christian Majesty, nor had been rais'd in *France* by Beat of Drum, or by his

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Preface.

Authority, but had all gone Volunteers to *Portugal* of their own free Choice; and that to debar his Soldiers, when disbanded, the Liberty of seeking their Bread and Fortunes abroad, would be using them hardly; *tho' 'twas observ'd that in other parts of his Kingdom, he immediately levied more Soldiers than he disbanded upon the Peace.*

By the same Treaty of the *Pyrenees*, King *Lewis XIV.* and his Queen *Maria Teresa*, Daughter of *Philip IV.* of *Spain*, did, in the most positive and binding Manner, Solemnly renounce the Succession of *Spain*, and all its Dependencies. This was the very Foundation and Reason of that Treaty, and of their Marriage: Yet on the Death of *Philip IV.* in 1665. his most Christian Majesty, in Violation of that Treaty, invaded the *Spanish Netherlands*, which he claimed in the Right of his Wife. The triple Alliance,

Preface.

Alliance between *England, Sweden,*
and *Holland*, oblig'd the French
King to agree to the Treaty of
Peace at *Aix la Chapelle*, in 1668.
But his most Christian Majesty,
deeply resenting the Part the States-
General had in the Triple Alliance,
which put a Stop to the Conquest
he had meditated of all the *Spanish*
Netherlands, violated the Treaty
of *Aix la Chapelle* (which only per-
fected and compleated the Triple
Alliance) by Invading *Holland* in
1672. The Emperour, and the
King of *Spain*, interposing to the
Assistance of the States, the Treaty
of *Nimeguen* put an End to that
War in 1678. What the Conduct
of *France* was from that Time to
1684, the Reader will see by the
Relation given of it by *Don Pedro*
Ronquillo: The Reader will ob-
serve, that that Relation concludes
with the Author's Wish, That God
would inspire with Wisdom the Mi-
nisters then assembled at the *Hague*:
The

Preface.

The Cause of their assembling was, a Proposal made by *France* of a Truce of 20 Years; which was concluded and sign'd at the *Hague*, the 29th of *June*, 1684. but was broken by *France*, by the Siege of *Philipsburgh*, in 1688.

The happy Revolution in *England*, gave King *William* Means to engage divers Sovereigns to enter into a War, that was absolutely necessary for procuring the Repose of *Europe*. That War was terminated by the Peace of *Ryswyck*, which appear'd so disadvantageous to *France*, that the French Nation cry'd out against it, because the secret Views and Politicks of that Crown were not known.

But *France*, by yielding up several Conquests, laid the Foundation of their cover'd Design, to draw the Net over the largest Monarchy in the Universe: They easily agreed to all the Restitutions stipulated by that Treaty, having form'd a Project

Preface.

ject to put themselves soon in Possession, not only of all that they seem'd to give up, but of the best Part of *Europe* and *America*. For the rest, they had so little Regard to that Treaty, after they had sign'd it, that they made no Scruple to violate the *Tariff* of Commerce, made in Consequence of it with the States General.

Lastly, The Treaty of Partition was the greatest Effort of the most refin'd Politicks of *France*. 'Twas to no Purpose that the most Christian King was allow'd by that Treaty to possess himself of divers very considerable Provinces and Kingdoms, *for Fear he should invade and take more by Force*: He had no sooner gain'd his Ends by that Treaty, than he broke it, in solemn Contempt and Mockery of the Credulity of the Potentates who had made it with him.

Upon the Breach of this last Treaty, his most Christian Majesty
was

Preface.

was pleas'd to pronounce that famous Distinction between the *Letter* and the *Spirit* of Treaties, and that the former ought to give Way to the latter. After so plain a Declaration, let the World judge, whether all the Words that can be put into a Treaty, can ever restrain the *French* King from breaking it, whenever he thinks it a proper Time?

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tiall of the Potentates who had made
it with him.

Upon the Breach of this last
Treaty, his most Christian Majesty
was

THE
IDEA
OF THE
COURT
OF
FRANCE,
AND

The Method of their Proceedings, from the Time of the Peace of *Nimeguen*, until the Spring of the Year 1684.

Supposed to be Written by *Don Pedro Ronquillo*, the Ambassador of Spain at the Court of England.

Done out of SPANISH into ENGLISH.

London: Printed for *J. Baker*, at the Black Boy in Pater-Noster-Row. 1711.

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**THE
PREFACE.**

THis small Treatise is
said to have been
Printed at Cologne, in the
Year 1684: But the Book
which I have was not Prin-
ted there, but in Madrid,
in the same Year.

I have some reason to be-
lieve it was writ here in

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The Preface.

England, by Don Pedro Ronquillo, Embassador of Spain at our Court: but though I cannot be positive as to that, I think I may positively affirm, that whoever he was that writ it, he was certainly both an able Statesman, and had a very fine Pen.

It begins where Sir William Temple ends; and I believe I may, without doing that ingenious Gentleman's Memory any Wrong, say, that his excellent Memoirs

The Preface

moirs are not writ with a clearer Insight into the Affairs they treat of, nor with more Fidelity, Judgment, and Life, than this Treatise is in its Spanish, however it may appear in its English Dress; and in one particular it seems to me to have the advantage of those famous Memoirs, which is, that it takes in many more memorable Successes.

The Curious, until they can have the promised Enter-

The Preface

ertainment of the Third Part of those Memoirs, may, if they please, stay their Stomachs with this Morsel; and which they should have had some Years sooner, had not that Promise hindered it.

I have added nothing of my own, but only two short Passages, and one short Remark, which I judged to be necessary: and though in a Web wove so fine as this is, they would discover themselves to be Patch-

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The Preface.

es, by their Coarseness; I
have nevertheless ordered
them to be Printed in a
Character different from the
rest of the Book.

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The Preface.

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them to be Printed in a
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The I D E A
Of the
Court of FRANCE,
AND THE
Method of their Proceedings.

FEW that know any thing
of the Affairs of the World,
can be ignorant of that
which, not many Years ago, did
oblige the *French* to yield to a Peace,
and that seeing the greatest part of
Germany, and *Spain*, and *Holland*,
all in a Confederacy against her,
tho' her past Campaigns had been
prosperous enough, yet having no
reason to promise her self the Con-
tinuation of the like Successes, she
endeavour'd to prevent the Evils
B which

which might have befallen her, in case Fortune should have changed sides: But the thing which chiefly moved *France* to a Peace, was, her finding her self threatned with the Arms of *England*, which in conjunction with those of so many other Potentates, she knew would be able to humble her more than she seemed to have exalted her self: for so it was, that it having been represented by many to the King of *England* how ill a thing it was not to make use of the present opportunity to carry his Arms into a Kingdom wherein his Ancestors had so many fair and rich Provinces, and in which at that time, by reason of its whole force almost being employ'd abroad, he would meet with but little opposition, and that this was the true way for him to augment both his Dominions and his own Honour; by these Reasons, or rather by the Jealousies which the People of *England* had conceived of the increase of the *French* Power,

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his *Britannick* Majesty was brought to resolve on something more than his own pacifick Temper would have dictated to him; besides, that he had entered into those Bonds of Friendship with *France*, which he was very unwilling to have broke. The *French* no sooner heard of that King's having, on the forementioned Motives, taken up that Resolution, than they caused him to be told *that they were ready to lay down their Arms, and would be content with any Conditions that he should prescribe.* And upon this a good quantity of *Dubloons* having been dextrously distributed in *England*, among those who had pushed on the War with the greatest Vehemence; in a moment they were all struck dumb, and the Offers which *France* had made were judged reasonable: by which means, when it was believed that *England* was upon the point of declaring War, of a sudden we saw her turned into a Mediator of Peace: and

Conditions having been proposed by all the Parties, whilst every one was disputing about their Rights, and which lasted a long time, and without any Cessation of Arms, *France*, which desired nothing so much as to separate the *Dutch* from the rest of the Allies, sent her Emis-saries into *Holland*, artificially to in-sinuate to the People, that the *States General* could recover the great Losses which they had sustained by the War, by no other way but by a Peace; and that as hitherto the whole Charge of the War had lain upon them, so it would certainly be kept upon them, as long as the War lasted; and as Trade could not possibly flourish in times of so great Mi-series and Devastations; they therefore whose Strength and Riches were supported by Trade solely, were under an absolute necessity to seek by all means possible to have a Peace re-established, during which they had been so powerful. In which Reasons a Poyson lay concealed, which was not observed by many; for tho' it might appear to

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be necessary for the States to have a Peace, yet the Interest of Allies who had come into the War to preserve them, was a thing which they ought to have considered; but such Reflections as these not being grateful to the People, who desired nothing so much as the re-establishment of their Trade, they were forced to give way to popular Dictates: but the thing of all others that made the *Dutch* most weary of the War, and which they were put in mind of by *France*, was, that the Emperor's, the Elector of *Brandenburg's*, and the rest of the Allies Troops, were paid by the States, by which great Charge, their Taxes did surmount their Rents; he that had four thousand Escudos in Rents having paid five thousand to the publick Taxes, which they said would destroy them without remedy; and so according to the common Saying, every one felt his own burden, and considered only the time present, without regarding,

or making any provision for the future.

The Prince of *Orange* only, of all the Members of that Republick, had penetrated into the ill Consequences of a Peace, and that in the present state of Affairs a Peace was not to be had, but to the great prejudice of all the Allies; seeing none that were not willing to deceive themselves, could hope that *France*, who at present was so proud and full of her new Conquests, would be brought by a Treaty to part with them: wherefore since there was no other way to recover the Places which they had lost, but by force of Arms, he said, *That the Allies ought not so much as to mention a Treaty, or to ask France to restore them: That Prince told them farther, That to leave France in the Possession of so many strong Places on the Confines of Germany and Holland, at all which Countries the French Ambition did visibly aim, was voluntarily to leave them with one foot*

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in those Countries, and with a power to bring the other in after it when they pleased. The Prince was also sensible how much it had cost to unite all the Princes of *Germany*; which being a Machine composed of so many different parts, cannot be moved altogether but with great difficulty, and that there was great cause to fear, if they were once separated, that it would not be an easie matter to joyn them together again.

But tho' all these things had been many times represented by the Prince of *Orange* in the Assemblies of the States General, he had always met with opposition there; having been told by those of a contrary Opinion, that they could not possibly sustain the Expence of the War any longer, the People being already reduced by it to extream Poverty; and that they must therefore be allowed to take some rest, since without it they would be destroyed the sooner: And the Prince

of Orange having told them, *That that Rest would not last long, for it was plain that France sought only to separate them from their Allies; and having once done that, she would not fail to visit them again in a year or two;* his Mouth was stopt by one *Hofst* a Burgo-master of *Amsterdam*, who told him, *That the Provinces would suffer him to carry on the War with a very good will, if he could do it without money; but, that the Province of Holland, or at least the City of Amsterdam, in whose Name he spoke, was resolved not to contribute Money to it any longer.* Now here you are to know, that of all the Subsidies raised in all the United Provinces, that of *Holland* pays almost the half; and of that half, the City of *Amsterdam* pays more than two fifth parts: so that in the Repartition which they make of their Taxes, if the Province of *Holland* pays fifteen Millions, the City of *Amsterdam* pays near seven.

After

After this Declaration had been made by the Burgo-master *Hofe*, all Appearances of being able to continue the War vanished, the rest of the Provinces having in a manner conformed themselves to that of *Holland*; for tho' they had not declared themselves so openly, yet it was plain that they did all incline to a Peace: On the other side, the Emperor who was sensible of the Designs of *France*, and that she had a universal Monarchy in her view, was extremely troubled when he heard of what had passed in *Holland*; and being earnest to remove those Provinces from that their purpose, he did let them know, That he would no longer pretend to those Subsidies which he had hitherto received from them, but on the contrary did offer on the like occasion to give them the same Succours which they had afforded him; but though the Dutch thanked the Emperor kindly for his good Will, they would not be

persuaded by him to carry the War on any longer ; and having observed how the Emperor and the rest of the Allies were daily starting new Obstacles to the Treaty which was on foot at *Nimeguen*, they solicited them all to conclude it quickly if they would not have them conclude it without them.

But the thing that made them make most haste, was, That the harder the Conditions of Peace were which the *French* Plenipotentiaries prescribed to the rest of the Allies, the more advantageous were those which were offered by them to the *Dutch*, to whom they promised to restore *Maestricht*, the only place remaining in their hands, by the large Conquests they had made in the United Provinces ; by which Restitution, and a Peace, the *Dutch* did reckon, that after having been so near a total Ruine, they should see themselves re-established in the same Estate they were in during their greatest Prosperity.

Ano-

Another thing that inclined them to a Peace, was, their seeing themselves distinguished in such a manner by the King of *France*, from all the rest of the Allies, which made them deaf to all that represented to them, that the end of that Distinction, was to separate them from their Friends, which was by the *Dutch* attributed to the *French* still retaining some of that respect for them which they had claimed in former Times, and so did reckon that if they had but once a Peace, they should not only with the *French*, but with all other Nations, be restored to the Figure they had made before the War. A Supposition very different from that which was insinuated to them by their best and most able Patriots, who having before their Eyes the fresh Benefit of the ready and powerful Assurances with which the Arms of the *Catholick King* had delivered them from an entire and irreparable

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ble Ruin, did with a grateful and political Ingenuity put the democratical Vulgar in mind of the safe Motives which had promoted a Peace betwixt the King of *Spain* and the *States General* at the Treaty of *Munster*, and that since that time the principal Interest of *Holland* had been founded on an indissoluble Union with *Spain*, by reason of the inestimable Conveniencies which in times both of Peace and War did thereby accrue to their *Republick* of a continual increase of Wealth and Security; and that the *French*, by the Repugnancy they had manifested to that Peace, had published the Secret of their insatiable Ambition, to which the continuation of the War was directed; and that at last having encompassed them, and being on their Confines, in a short time they would see them change their friendly Mask for its contrary, as they use to do with all their Neighbours, and make them feel their Designs on an uni-

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universal Monarchy : finally, that the United Provinces having twice owed their Liberty to *Spain*, no good Policy, nor Morals, did allow them to break the sacred Knot of that Confederacy ; but, on the contrary, did oblige them to observe the Agreements which had been made and sworn to in it, that they might not discredit themselves with all the Nations of the World, for preferring the doubtful Faith of a People, who of all others are the least observant of their word, to the sincere and powerful Support of so many faithful Allies, and especially of the greatest, and the nearest, and the most necessary ; and who, for the common Cause, had been dispoiled of entire Provinces ; and that under the Ashes of a deceitful Peace, into which they were unadvisedly ready to precipitate themselves, there would quickly be matter prepared and disposed for the kindling of a new Flame after the Union of the Confederates was once dissolved.

But

But nothing of all this having been able to shake the inflexible pre-occupation of the *Hollanders*, no nor the Exclamations of the Allies against that which they called Inconstancy, Lightness, and an enormous controvention of Treaties; they admitted a particular Peace, and at so unseasonable a time as to sign it on the same Day whereon the Pride of the Enemy had met with a great check in the Battel of *Cateu*; and whose main Army had probably been defeated the next Day before *Montz*, had not the fatal News of the Peace's being sign'd, sheath'd the Swords of the Victors.

I shall excuse enlarging on this, whether the *Hollanders* did well or ill with the View there was then of what has since happened, and is now actually succeeding, and shall only say, That the *Emperor* and the *Spaniard* seeing themselves abandoned by their chief Support, did likewise receive the Peace on their Parts,

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Parts, leaving the Elector of *Brandenburgh* wholly alone, who not being able to resolve to accept of the hard Conditions which were offered him, *France* did invade his Country; but finally, not finding himself alone able to withstand that great Power, he was compelled to yield to whatsoever *France* required, but with the comfort which generous Minds pay to themselves with his Sword in his hand, and which last Action of that Prince's did answer the other glorious Exploits which had been performed by him during the War.

A Peace having been thus concluded, so much to the gusto of the *French*, and without having forgot their grand design of a universal Monarchy; they, seeing all those Princes separated, and the Alliance broke all to pieces, began to set Negotiations on foot, with those from whom they thought they might promise themselves something: *Brandenburgh* instead of complain-
ing

ing of the *States General*, the true Authors of his Misfortunes, was angry with the *Emperor*, not considering that his *Cesarean Majesty*, as well as the *Catholick King*, and the Princes of *Brunswick* and *Lunenburg*, had been compelled to accept of the despotick Propositions of *France*.

Some say, and they say well, that the greatest occasion that offers it self to the Devil for to tempt Mortals, is when he finds them Melancholy, and much troubled for some great loss: *France* when she began to court the Elector by great Promises to enter into an Alliance with her, found him inconsolable, and as it were choaked with Choler, for having seen himself obliged to let go all his Conquests, without a single Step having been made by any body to assist him; and the same Crown gave Life to that Temptation, by buying, and not very cheap, in the Electoral Court, Votes and

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Voices, to approve of, and applaud
 this new Alliance; by which
 means, the singular Benignity
 which so great a Monarch mani-
 fested to the Elector, when to o-
 ther Princes who are his Neigh-
 bours, he held forth nothing but
 his Power, and the Terrour of his
 Arms, was of a sudden praised and
 extolled to the Skies; besides the
 Royal Protection, great Supplies
 of Money were likewise offered to
 that Prince, with so many other
 conveniencies, that in the end he
 was shaken by the force of such
 Offers: However, he was with-
 held from surrendring himself in-
 tirely to them, by the differences
 which he had with the *Swedes*, the
 devoted and ancient Allies of
France; and whereas those Diffe-
 rences have been the Original of
 frequent Debates, it will not be
 improper here succinctly to touch
 on their Causes and Effects. Ma-
 ny Years ago, a certain Marquess
 of *Brandenburgh* and a Duke of *Pa-*
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merania did make a Bargain, in virtue whereof they did reciprocally institute one the other Heirs of their Estate; and after them their Children, in case the Heirs of the one or the other died without Succession: Which Agreement having taken place in the Person of a certain Duke of *Pomerania*, who died about two hundred Years ago; the Marquess of *Brandenburgh* succeeded him in that *Dutchy*, which was peaceably enjoyed by him, and by his Descendants until *Gustavus Adolphus*, King of *Sweden*, conquered it, and was confirmed in the Possession of it by the Peace of *Munster*. But as the Marquess of *Brandenburgh* had not consented to that Peace but by force; so he still retained a secret desire to recover that *Dutchy*, which undoubtedly he will still attempt as often as he has an opportunity.

The King of *France* seeing, that it was this that hindered that Elector from entering into his Interest,

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rest, he did resolve to sacrifice *Sweden* to that consideration; but before he did that, he was willing to secure the King of *Denmark*, reckoning that if he had that Crown and *Brandenburgh* on his side, he should be so strong in the *North*, as not have cause to fear any other Princes who should attempt to oppose his Projects. The King of *Denmark*, as well as the rest, having seen the great Power of *France* in the last War, would not refuse her Alliance, tho' after the Example of *Brandenburgh* he stuck likewise at the Differences which he had with *Sweden*, and did discover that nothing but those Differences hindered him from admitting the Conditions which had been proposed. *France* was not well satisfied with the *Svedes* for their having been so long before they declared themselves in the last War, and for their not having, after they had declared themselves, done any thing worthy of the Reputation which

which King *Gustavus* had acquired to their Arms ; so that instead of considering them as formerly , *France* neglected to assist them according to their Necessities in those Times which were so distastrous to them.

The first occasion that presented it self for the mortifying of the *Swedes* , was the Homage the King of *France* required for the Dutchy of *Deuxpons* , of which he had made himself Master during the War , and that before the last Duke died , on pretence of securing it for the King of *Sweden* , who was the next Heir , but in truth with an intention of keeping it to himself , to make use of for the carrying on of his vast Designs : And since the Homage which the Crown of *France* pretends to require from so many Sovereign Princes , is here come in my way , I will here set down that which gave rise to this *Chimera* , to the disturbing of the Repose of all Europe with it.

In

In the City of *Metz* there is a Sovereign Court, or Audience, whose Procurator General having been commanded by the King of *France* to draw up an exact Relation of all the *Dependencies* of the said Audience, and to send it to him at *Paris*, he had inserted into that Relation many Villages which had formerly depended on that Tribunal, with Notes how they had been separated from it, and aggregated to the Jurisdiction of some Neighbouring Princes, who were glad of their having acquired them; This Paper was framed so well, and for want of solid Foundations was adorned with so many ingenious Fictions, that the Ministers being pleased with it, called that Procurator General to them, to remove some Scruples which they had about that matter; and who being come, did not only defend all that he had writ, but finding that this Work might raise him; he told them further, That he had met

met with some ancient Writings which justified the Dutchy of *Deuxpons*, having always depended on the Bishopricks of *Metz*, *Toul*, and *Verdun*, which are all under the power of the King of *France*; and that besides that Dutchy, many more considerable Places had been dismembered from those Bishopricks, with the consent of the Bishops, for the benefit of their Kindred: And that those Bishops having had the Bishopricks only for the term of their own Lives, had thought fit to accommodate their own Families at the cost of the Church, which they had no right to do. The *French* Ministers being much pleased with this Relation, commanded the Procurator General to return to *Metz*, and to peruse all the publick Registers of that Country; and in case he found any thing more of the same kind, to note it carefully, to be made use of as occasion offered, and to shew here, that I am not partial in any thing

thing that I write for the instru-
 ction of the Publick; I do own,
 that there was something of truth
 in that which the Procurator Gene-
 ral had related; many Bishops,
 to help their kindred, having grant-
 ed them some Estates which lay
 commodious for them, by reason of
 their Situation: But the Bishops
 at the same time did receive other
 Estates in exchange for them; so
 that if things must be brought back
 to their first Estate, Equity re-
 quires that they should either re-
 store the Lands that were given in
 exchange, or desist from pretending
 to have those restored which had
 been alienated: But to return, the
 Procurator General, as soon as he
 was got to *Metz*, did examine not
 only all the Publick Registers, but
 all the Archives of the Churches
 and Abbies; and having the sove-
 reign Authority for what he did, he
 carried those Writings all away
 with him, without either calling a
 Witness, or making an Inventory,
 both

both which he ought to have done not only that every one might have their own again, but to have avoided that suspicion which arose afterwards, of those Parchments not being so ancient as he made them to be: however, the Procurator General having shut himself up for some time to make his Memoirs, when they were finished according to his Mind, he returned to the Court full of Presumption and Confidence saying that he carried things with him which would be very acceptable to his Superiors; and among the rest, he carried those Pretensions which made so great a noise afterwards, and do at this time disturb all *Europe*.

But notwithstanding the great Confidence and Vanity of the Instrument of so many Evils, the Marquis de *Louvois*, who was Secretary of State and War, and a Minister of great Reputation in that Kingdom, when he presented those Papers to him could not forbear

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bear smiling when he saw them;
 for tho' a War was not for any bo-
 dy's Interest so much as it was for
 his, yet not seeing any probability
 or foundation for the matters con-
 tained in those Papers, he was not
 forward to vouch for them to the
 King, to whom he knew other
 Pretences would not be wanting
 whenever he had a mind to have a
 new War; he therefore asked the
 Procurator General *from whence he*
had all that Stuff? and the Procura-
 tor, to satisfie him, pulled another
 Memorial out of his Portmantle,
 with the Seals of all the Instru-
 ments, true or false, which he had
 made use of: and finally, as one
 who hoped to make his Fortune by
 the success of this business, he told
Louvois so many things, that he
 promised to peruse his Memoirs,
 and afterwards gave him his
 Thoughts of them; and which he
 having done, he shewed him more
 favour than at his first Audience.
 And here, without making a Com-
 mentary

mentary of all that passed during that short Interval, and the Testimonies of Persons that deserve credit, *Louvois* commanded him to continue that diligence, and did promise him, that when a Junto was formed to liquidate the King's Pretensions to so many different Principalities, that he should be named President of it; which was not less, than to make him from a Party in a Cause, the Judge of it. I was willing to enlarge on this odious Matter, believing I should gratifie the Reader with a Relation of the Originall of the Evils we suffer, and which are going on to cause great Disorders and Confusions in many States: I do now return to that at which I interrupted my Narration; and it is, that the King of *France* making now no account of the Alliance of *Sweden*, did order that King to be cited to do him Homage for the Dutchy of *Deuxpons*. The *Swede*, who tho' but young, is a Prince inferior to none either for
Cou-

Courage or Constancy, did stand amazed at this unheard-of Pretension; but not being willing, without great cause, to break with the King of *France*, he represented to him, by his Ambassador, the Injury that he did him, and that the Dutchy of *Deuxpons* having always been a Sovereign Principality, the Lords of it had never done Homage for it to any, if that Name be not given to that Act by which they desired the Investiture of it of the Emperor. But these Reasons not being agreeable to the modern Genius of the *French* Court, they went on in their unjust Pretensions; and after divers Conferences about it, betwixt the Ambassador of *Sweden* and the *French* Ministers, the Chamber of *Metz* did pass this Sentence, *That the Dutchy of Deuxpons be united to the Crown of France, if within a certain time the King of Sweden did not make a due Submission.* But that they might not appear to covet other Mens Estates, they did,

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after that Sentence was passed, offer the Investiture of that Dutchy to Duke *Adolph*, who was Uncle to the King of *Sweden*, if the King his Nephew did refuse to do Homage for it according to the Sentence: but whilst Duke *Adolph* was in a perplexity betwixt the Temptation of Accepting of that Dutchy and the fear of Displeasing the King of *Sweden*, *France* sent to the Prince Palatine of *Berkenfield*, of the Family of the Palatinate, to take upon him the Charge of that Dutchy in the Name of Duke *Adolph* his Kinsman, giving him a Promise at the same time, that if that Duke would not accept of it, and do Homage for it, it should be given to him without delay; the Prince of *Berkenfield*, by whom this Favour of the King's was highly esteemed, having in the Name of Duke *Adolph* done Homage for that Dutchy, he departed to execute the King's Commands. I shall not weigh here that which was extraordinary in this

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this Proceedure, because it is not always grateful to the Reader, that he who writes should decide the Causes; which is to set Bounds to his Imagination, and Laws to his Judgment: it is, I say, enough for him that does what I do, to relate Matters as they are, leaving it to the Reader to judge of them as he shall see cause. But to put an end to this short Digression, which may be of some profit to those that are engaged in such a Work; the King of *Sweden*, when he heard of what had been done in *France* in Wrong to his Right and Honour, did separate himself from that Alliance with the most Christian King, which during the late War he had followed, to the great prejudice of his Estates, and many times with the hazard of his own Life, having fought in Person at the Head of his Troops, in three or four Battels, for the Interest of *France*, from whom he had hoped to have met with different Returns from what he found.

The King of *Denmark* and the Elector of *Brandenburgh*, when they had notice of the Resolution which had been taken by the King of *Sweden*, did presently conclude their Treaties with *France*, which promised to the King of *Denmark* Ships and Troops, not only to recover the Provinces which had been taken from him by the King of *Sweden*'s Father, but likewise to take the City of *Lubeck*; on which place he had, with certain imaginary Pretensions, for a long time meditated great Designs. The Marquis of *Brandenburgh* was promised great things likewise in this Alliance; by which those three Potentates were joyfully linked together, to involve the North in a new War.

After *France* had secured her self on that side, she went on with other Sentences of the same Stamp with that which has been mentioned, requiring the same Homage of several other Sovereign Princes. Many that found themselves not

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able to resist, did submit to all that she required, in the same manner as the *Transylvanians* and *Wallachians* do to the *Turk*: others that shewed more Constancy, were presently chastised for it, with Garrisons put into their Towns, which forced them to bend. The Account of what was done in this case to the *Rhinegrave*, is curious enough: *France* having found that Prince in great Authority in his own Countries, and being sensible how powerful his Example would be with others, she caused it to be insinuated to him, to do what she ordained, so as not to give her occasion to reduce him by force; and at the same time did assure him, that if he obeyed, all his Pre-eminencies and Rights should be restored to him. The *Rhinegrave* being far from having any doubt of that which they had offered to him, did reckon it good Fortune to have so powerful and formidable a Crown distinguish him thus.

from others; who being already encompassed in their Net, were lamenting the Loss of their Honour and Liberty: upon this Assurance the *Rhinegrave* shewed the way to others to do Homage, who, now that he had submitted, despaired of being able to refuse it. But when the *Rhinegrave* came afterwards to speak of his Reintegration to those who had given him their Word for it, they presently undeceived him, telling him, *That they had no power to do it, and so did advise him to repair to the Court for it*: The *Rhinegrave* did so, but it was to hear, *That he might have excused his Journey, and that they could not wonder enough at such a petty Prince as he was, not reckoning it to be Honour and Happiness enough to be the Vassal of so grand a Monarch.* An Answer not much different from this was given by them to the *Elektor Palatine*, who having sent a Gentleman to the Court of *France*, to lament the great Devastations which

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which were continually made in his Countries, to the prejudice of the Peace; they told him with much plainness, *That when a little Prince, like the Elector Palatine, had the Honour to be on the Confines of the Estates of so grand a Monarch, that he must not shew himself techy.* But these are Roses, if I may so speak, to the Thorns which follow presently.

France went on pretending to her Rights of Dependencies: and seeing Spain, who is incredulous of such things, not prepared, and without any ready Help from others; she laid Claim to the old Borough of *Gaunt*, and to the Town and Castellany of *Alost*, and to several other places, on pretence that those Lands had been taken by her Arms, and that Restitution of them had not been stipulated in the Treaty of *Nimeguen*. To this Claim the *Spanish* Ministers did answer presently, That they were all open Places, and without any

Defence during the whole time of the last War, and had therefore never changed their Lord by that Invasion and military Violence; and as they had never been fortified, nor put in a state of Defence, so they had never been yielded up by any Treaty: and they added, that if *France*, during the time of the last War, had no lawful Possession of any of those Places, to claim the Sovereignty of them to her self, she could much less lay Claim to it after the Peace, which established the one and the other Crown in all their ancient Rights, except where it was covenanted to the contrary: the Evidence of which Reasons, the very Articles of the Peace which the King of *France* had made in the Month of *April*, did prove to be incontestable; he having by those Articles obliged himself expressly to restore *Gaunt*, and all its Dependencies: and that the Restitution might wholly correspond with the Occupation,

pation, it followed, that the King of *France* having Conquered the said Places only under the Title of the Dependencies of *Gaunt* (for it is certain that all the Acts of Jurisdiction exercised by *France* over those Places during the War, were founded only on that Title; and according to the Rules of Justice, it is not lawful to change the Cause or Title of Possession, upon the whole, after it is absolutely parted with) he ought therefore to restore those Places under the same Title to the *Catholic King*. Beside that, *France* had explained her self sufficiently as to this matter, by her having declared, that by that means she had established in the *Low Countries* a Frontier capable to form the Barrier, which *England* and *Holland*, and the other *Neighbouring States*, believed to be necessary to their Security; which Barrier could not subsist, if the King of *France* had retained the said Places, but would have been interrupted

rupted by them, to the very Garrisons and Fortifications of the *States General* of the *United Provinces*.

The *French* Ministers perceiving how little reason they had, and that this Pretension could not possibly subsist with their King's Articles of Peace, and which the *Duke de Villa Hermosa* had accepted of, and moderated, with the following Condition; *Intending truly that all the Conquests which the most Christian King may have made in any part of the World, in the States and Dominions of the King his Lord, which are not expressed in the said Article, shall also be restored to his Catholick Majesty: which Propositions and Acceptation had served for a Basis, and were the true Foundation of that which was settled by the Treaty of Nimeguen; the French having found that the said Pretence could not possibly subsist with that which had been adjusted and concluded by that Treaty,*

ty, they sought to have softened it by another as unjust; which was, that *France* would accept of an Equivalent for those Towns and Countries, a thing which *France* had never proposed before, nor had *Spain* ever promised: for, is it at all likely that the King of *France*, having had the Cession which he desired in exchange for the said Barrier, and with which he said he was contented, should either in reality, or by an Equivalent, intend to retain a part of the said Barrier, for which that Cession had been made. Besides, this Pretence was directly contrary to the general Disposition contained in the seventh Article of the Treaty of *Nimwegen*, *To restore on the one side and the other all Towns, Places, Forts, Castles, and Posts, which the Arms of the one or the other Crown had, or could have occupied, until the Day of the Publication of the Peace in what part soever of the World they were situated.*

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The Injustice of the Procedure of *France* manifested it self yet more, in the pretended Sentence, or Decree, pronounced on the 29th of *May* 1681, by the Chamber of Justice the *French King* had established at *Metz*, at the instance of the Procurator-General *Ravaux*, against the *Catholick King*, as Count of *Chiny*, and against all his Vassals mediate and immediate, and against the Provost and all the native Officers and Inhabitants of the said County, with all its Appurtenances and Dependencies; pretending, contrary to all Truth, that those Dependencies extended themselves to the Gates of the capital City of *Luxemburgh*. In consequence of this Decree, the *French* required the *Spaniards* to put them in Possession of the said County, and which if they did not, they threatened to seize on it.

The Embassador of *Spain*, with all his Comprehension, not knowing what to answer to this new
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Bachelour Law, desired time to acquaint his King with it: they granted him such time as he had desired; but when that was past, the *French*, perceiving that the *Spaniards* did intend to baffle this their Pretence, they caused their Troops to march forthwith into the Country of *Luxemburgh*; and having blocked up all the Passages to the Capital City, and drawn a Line about it, in a full Peace they committed all the Acts of Hostility which they could have committed in a declared War. The Governour of *Luxemburgh* sent a Trumpet to the Commander in chief of the *French* Troops, to ask him, *If France had proclaimed War against Spain?* He answered, *No; but had only taken Possession of that which belonged to her.* Under the colour of taking Possession, the *French* hindred all sorts of Provisions from being carried into *Luxemburgh*, neither would they suffer any Person whatsoever to come out of it; and that in such a manner, that if any
came

came out they constrained them to go back, pretending they were sent forth as Spies to observe them; and if any came from the Country, as the Peasants use to do with Provisions to the Market, after they had taken all their Goods from them, they sent them home; and if any came without Provisions, they suffered them to pass; but when they pretended to return home again, they drove them back to the City, to increase the number of Mouths, that their Provisions might be consumed the sooner.

For certain, when I consider all these Violences, nothing amazeth me so much, as to see the King of *England*, who was both the Mediator of the Peace, and the actual Guarantee of it, take no care at all to see it observed; for he looked on, and saw all this, without appearing to be the least concerned at it: and so secure was the King of *France* of that Prince, that he did not only continue his Hostili-

ties,

ties, but did offer to make him the Judge of all his Pretensions: This made *Spain* desperate, who seeing that King's Proceedure, so contrary to his Obligations, both as a Mediator and a Guarantee, she did not know how to resolve to trust him with her Interests, neither could she comprehend how the King of *France* came to offer to his Arbitrement so notorious a Sinrazon. In this Perplexity *Spain* resolved to venture something; and whereas *Luxemburgh* was on the point of being lost for want of Provisions, she ordered the Governour secretly, at any price and hazard, to open a Passage. The Governour, who desired nothing else, having solicited long before for Leave to do it, sallied out of the Town at a time when the *French* least expected him; and having advanced to one of their Quarters, he invested it until the *French* took up Arms to oppose him, which they did with great Resolution; but being over-

overpower'd by the superior Force
 of their Enemy, the Governour
 went forward to meet a Convoy
 which he had before appointed to
 be ready, and which he carried in-
 to the City with him; there were
 about two hundred *French* killed,
 and eighteen or twenty *Spaniards*,
 but no Man of Quality, or of any
 Post on either side. The *French*,
 when they heard of this Success,
 did roar most terribly against the
Spaniards, as if it had been an un-
 pardonable Crime in them, not to
 suffer themselves to be starved: and
 thereupon the King of *France* com-
 manded a great Body of his Troops
 to march forthwith into the *Spanish*
 Countries; but as they were on
 the point of doing it, they were
 stopped by the King of *England*,
 who had judged that the *Spaniards*
 should give Satisfaction to the
French, and disown the Action of
 the Governour of *Luxemburgh*, and
 offer to turn him out of his Post;
 and should also pay a good Sum of
 Money

Money to *France* for her Loss. After this Patch, the *French* returned to block up *Luxemburgh* as before, reinforcing their Quarters, and going their Rounds every Hour to secure themselves; in fine, they did every thing which the fear of being surprized a second time dictated to them.

Here I cannot deny myself another short digression, asking what Posterity will say, to its being lawfull for one side to commit all Hostilities; and to the others, being Chastized for being so little complaisant, as not to Starve rather than Discompose those that will not suffer them to have Bread; it will be hard for the next Age to believe this, notwithstanding at present it is a truth that all the World knows: But as the Garrison of *Luxemburgh* was Numerous, and could not be long sustained by that Convoy, so it quickly began to suffer the same incommodities as before: The Governour

vernour who was a Man of Courage, panted to Die with his Sword in his hand, rather than live Blocked up thus, and to art unworthy of his Obligations: But he was forced every Day to suffer a Thousand affronts, without daring to repel them: For the *French*, knowing what orders he had, moved by their own natural Pride, and Restlessness did ordinarily come within Half a League of the Garrison, Destroying the Corn upon the ground with their Horses feet challenging the *Spaniards* to to come out and Fight them if they durst. In the mean time the *King of France* had adjusted the buying of *Cassal* with the *Duke of Mantua*: This was resented by none so justly as by the *Emperor*, for besides that *Cassel* is a *Fief* of the *Empire*, he was the presumptive heir of that Estate; so that he interested himself in it on two accounts, the one as *Emperor*, and the other as the nearest of kin to the

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the *Duke of Mantua*; It was not to be thought that the *King of France* would humble himself so far as to send to the *Emperor* to desire the Investiture of it; as is the custom of all the *Fiefs* of the Empire; He believes himself Superior to all Rules, and Ordinary Stiles, and that his power had exempted him from all subordination whatsoever; and so much the Procurator General of *Metz*, did own one Day, with great Ingenuity, who having been told by a Friend in the beginning of his innovations, that he could not think his Sentences should have force enough to Oblige so many Sovereign Princes to make themselves Subjects, he answered, *he had a Master who with an Hundred pieces of Canon, and an Hundred Thousand Men, and an Hundred Millions, which he never wanted, would see them all executed.*

The seizing of *Cassal* was nothing

thing less than the Conquest of the
 the only shock *Italy* had given it
 at this time. *France* whose ambition
 cannot satisfy it self with any
 Conquest, was angry at this time
 with the Republick of *Genoa*, on
 purpose to have a pretext to de-
 prive her of her liberty; the *Ge-
 noeses* sent an Embassador to excuse
 themselves, but as reasons good or
 bad are never wanting on occa-
 sions when they seek to satisfy
 their Covetousness, the excuses of
Genoeses were not well received, a
 new cause was likewise moved,
 and the *Genoeses* were commanded
 to restore all the goods of the Fa-
 mily of *Fiesca*, with the interest
 due for above an age; I think none
 can be Ignorant of the success of that
 Family, and how it came to be
 Banished *Genoa*, without my re-
 lating it; so I shall only say, that
 such an extravagant, not to say
 unjust pretension, was never heard
 of before, as that *France* should
 oblige a free republick, to restore

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to the Successor of a Traytor, all his Goods, which they had confiscated, for his atrocious crimes: as if *France* her self had never confiscated any, and did not every day confiscate the Goods of all that withdrew themselves from her Devotion; in fine tho' this Dependency has not yet made all the disturbance which might be feared from it, I don't think that it is forgot; on the contrary, tho' it is at present dissembled and laid asleep, I do apprehend, that if God, does not prevent it; it will awake one day or another in a general Flame of all *Italy*: for it is not to be imagined that *France* has renounced the Design of Conquering that Republick upon her having deferr'd it, because at present it undoubtedly imports her more, to attend to the Conquest of *Flanders*, which has always given her strong longings and is now exposed to her ambition, by those troublsome Embarrasses, which

which make it impossible for the Emperor to succour her: *France* would do ill to raise to herself many Enemies at once, since she knows not how to destroy them but successively; and is not ignorant of the manner how to put in execution that advise which a Wise Man gave his Sons; who finding himself at the Point of Death, commanded them to fetch him a great Number of Arrows, some tied together in bundles, and others single and having given him these first, he commanded his Sons to break them, which they did with ease; he then bid them take the others, with the same command to break them; which they not having been able to do; he took occasion to admonish them to continue still united, if they desired to be invincible. *France* does that with most *Princes* which those Sons did with the single arrows; she subdues them easily one after another; where as were they all well united, they

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would be found strong enough to reduce her to Reason. Our Ancestors appear to me to be much wiser than we are. When I remember how after the Battel of *Pavia*, in which *Charles* the Vth triumphed over the Fortune of *Francis* the First, the greater part of the Potentates separated themselves presently from the side of the Victorious, and went over to that which was Conquered: They considered that it was not convenient to suffer the Power of a Crown, which was already too formidable, to increase; and by that means they restored the Affairs of *France*, which were then in a much worse estate than ours are in at present: but the grief is, that all do know that which happened in the time of our Ancestors, but few do know how to imitate it. I see very well, that I am insensibly departed from my Argument, and have suffered my self to be carried away by the force of Truth; but I

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shall mend this Digression, tho' excusable, by telling, that whilst all *Italy* was astonished at the Success of *Cassal*, *France* was forging another Machine in the same Country, which caused great Disquietude.

Savoy, as all do know, is situated betwixt *France* and the Estates of *Spain*; I mean those which the *Catholick King* is possessed of in *Italy*: The Neighbourhood of these two great Potentates, has been the Cause why the Dukes of *Savoy* have had but little Rest; for when those two Crowns declared War, they were forced to joyn with one of them, not to see their Country destroyed by both, as it commonly happens to those who think to maintain themselves Neuters: and the Advantage having constantly been great which the Duke of *Savoy* added to the side he joyned himself to, they did both strive to gain him: so at one time, *France* married one of her Princesses to him, and

and at another time *Spain* gave him one of her Infanta's. The Need which both the Crowns stood in of that Duke, did always produce him some new Advantage. *France*, who knew how dear an Alliance with that Duke had sometimes cost her, did resolve to adjust Matters so with him, that he should never be able to make himself any more a *Spaniard*: She sent to *Piedmont* the Cardinal *de Estrees*, a Kinsman of the Dutchess's, who governed all during her Son's Minority: he proposed to Marry the Duke with the Infanta of *Portugal*, his first Cousin, and Heir presumptive of that Crown, the Prince Regent having no other Child. The Dutchess of *Savoy*, who was born in *France*, and had a strong Affection for her Country, was well pleased with the Proposition, judging that the Royal Character was well worth that of Duke of *Savoy*; but there being a Law in *Portugal* which excluded from the Crown an Infanta

that married with a Foreigner, it was necessary first to think of a Form how to have that Law abrogated.

The Cardinal *de Estrees* charged himself with procuring that to be done, in the Name of his King, and who to that end did write earnestly about it to *Portugal*, who being accustomed to grant him whatever he desired, acted in this Conjunction as she used to do; so that Law was abrogated, and the Marriage of the Duke of *Savoy* with the Infanta of *Portugal* was adjusted.

I was in Lisbon when this Law, which was called the Law of *Lamego*, was repealed; and it was in every body's mouth, that beside the French Pensioners, there was not a single Person in the Cortez who was not in his Judgment against the Repealing of it, and against the Match with *Savoy*: But notwithstanding that, so great was the Power of French Pistoles, and of a French Queen at that time in *Portugal*,

tugal, that that Law was abrogated, and a great Summ of Money was likewise given by that Cortez towards the defraying of the Charges of that Marriage.

But the thing that made the Repealing of that Law to be the most wondered at, was, that the House of *Braganza* was beholden to it for her Title to the Crown of *Portugal*; from which Crown the Duke of *Parma*, who was the undoubted Heir of the Dutcheffs of *Braganza*'s elder Sister, had been excluded, not forty Years before, solely by this Law's disinheriting all the Children of Infanta's who were married to Foreigners.

In the mean time, the principal Nobles of *Piemont* and *Savoy*, without whose Participation this Business had been managed, being highly discontented, when they saw that by this Marriage the *French* intended to take their Prince from them, and to put them under a Governor.

They held secret Junto's to hinder the execution of it. I confess, I cannot tell whether the view of this their Union was directed to the publick Good, or to their own private Conveniencies; but let that be as it will, it is manifest, that this Marriage with *Portugal* was so far from being of any advantage to that Duke, that it would have been the utter Ruin of him, and of all the Princes of his House: for whilst he was in *Portugal*, who would there have been to have succoured *Savoy* in case the *French* should have fallen upon it with their Right of Conveniency, which Right they now endeavoured to bring into credit, and to have it established together with that of Dependency; for it was in Fact evident, that they had taken the Prince of *Montbeliard's* Estates from him, and thrown him out of them, for no other reason, but because they were commodious, and for the Conveniency of their Crown: and having

ving never given any thing in exchange for what fell to them by this Title, they went on still gaining more Lands. No body knew this better than the Dutchess of *Savoy*, but in her Idea, according to the Opinion of many, to rule alone did preponderate it; so that as *Alexander Farnese*, Duke of *Parma*, left his Mother because he did not care to share with her in the Authority of the Government of the *Low Countries*, so the Dutchess of *Savoy* would have sent away her Son, that she might have remained perpetual Regent of his Estates: for she knew very well, that he would be detained in *Portugal*, to be bred up in the Customs of that Nation; and by that means she hoped to secure to her self the supreme Authority.

But in the mean time, the Discontents of the chief Nobles increased so, that they met often together to take a Resolution of that which should be most convenient

for them to do: but in this they did not proceed with so much secrecy, that the Dutchess had not notice of it; and she, being solicitous to prevent all sorts of disturbances which the Nobles might raise in the State, she caused a great Body of Troops to come from *France*, which were quartered by her about *Turin*, on the pretence of securing *Cassal*: The Nobles did not for all this change their Design of assisting their Duke: and having discovered, as they gave out, that the Dutchess was treating to deliver to the *French* the best Places in *Piemont*, for Money which they were to lend her to defray the Charges of her Son's Marriage; they resolved to venture all, rather than suffer that which they knew must ruin them: and having waited only for an opportunity to execute their Design, the Dutchess furnished them with as good a one as they could have desired: having one day, contrary to her custom,

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left the Duke alone in Turin, and gone out of Town a League or two to take the Air, the Nobles having got about him, represented to him, *That he was Besieged by the French, and was in a manner their Prisoner; that his Mother the Dutchesse had already made a Bargain with them for the best Places, and that the rest would follow, if a stop were not presently put to it; that she sent him to Portugal, not to Reign there, as she told him, but that she might Reign alone; that the Condition that waited for him in Portugal, if it were not an absolute Captivity, however it might be disguised to him, was at least an inevitable Subjection to a Superior: whereas if he would resolve to stay with them, he would enjoy their Obedience, and all that Respect and Affection which was due to him; that the Portugueses hated Strangers, and had been forced to consent to let him have their Infanta for his Wife: so that he might be certain, if the Prince Regent should die, that they would re-*

tract what they had done, and would take the Crown from him, as they had taken it from the King of Spain; after that, they said they did not know what would become of him; for, the French having made themselves Masters of his Estates, would never restore them to him.

This Representation did astonish the Duke; and though he was not capable, by reason of his small Age, to distinguish Truth from Lyes, he asked them, *What they would have him do to avoid all those Misfortunes?* They answered, *There was but one way, which was to cause his Mother to be Arrested.* This struck the Duke; but not having allowed him time to attend to what Nature would have dictated to him, they told him his Safety was in his own hand, and that it was now in his choice whether he would be happy or miserable all the days of his Life: as to themselves, they declared they would not be Witnesses of his Ruin, being resolved to retire
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into foreign Countries, to have the comfort of appearing not to have been accessory to it. Some Tears, drop'd either dextrously, or with a true Affection and Compassion, prevailed with the Duke to sign a Warrant for the Arresting of his Mother; but before the Nobles could bring their Party together to execute it, the Dutches was returned to the Palace: She was amazed to find her Son sad and pensive, and as it were dumb; she asked him what he ailed, and begged earnestly to know what the matter was; and when she found Prayers would not do alone, she strengthened them with the Caresses of a Mother: and her Son having wept, when she took him in her Arms she doubled her Endearments, and did with them, and her Tears, and all the melting Expressions of a fond Tendernefs, overcome him at last, so that he told her, that he had been deceived by the Nobles, and perswaded by them to sign an Order

Order to have her Arrested. At first the Dutchess seemed to be struck dumb, but she quickly recovered her self, and knowing that there was no time to be lost, and that every moment was of the last importance to her, she sent for all her chief Confidants, having first ordered all the Guards of the Palace to be forthwith doubled, and all that had conspired against her Person to be apprehended, accusing them of having had an intention to have carried the Duke into *Spain*. I know not certainly whether the Nobles had that in their Thoughts, or whether it was only invented, and given out by the Dutchess, to make them odious to the People. In the end, the Dutchess, having so narrowly escaped this Danger, did order the *French* Troops to enter the City, and to be quartered in it, and thereby discovered, that she reposed more Confidence in them than in the Natives.

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But notwithstanding all this, there did still remain with the Duke some Impressions of all that the Nobles had told him; insomuch that though his Stable of Horses and part of his Family were gone by Land to *Portugal*, and he himself was shortly to have followed, he talked no more of his Voyage; and some who were about his Person having secretly fomented the Suspicions the Nobles had infused into him, he broke that Match quite off, to the unspeakable Joy of his Subjects,

and of the Portugueses too; who, as they had never liked the Match from the beginning, so they were overjoyed when they had the certain News of its being broke off. However, this Match, though it came to nothing, (if the French King, who was to have been the great Gainer by it, was not at all the Charge) was a dear Treaty both to Savoy and Portugal. That Duke, besides the Charge he was at in Rome for a Dispensation to marry his

his first Cousin, and in sending his Servants and Horses over Land to Lisbon, was at the Charge of sending and receiving the two most splendid Embassies that had ever been seen before in the Courts of Turin and Lisbon. He was also at the Charge of furnishing the Portuguese Armado, when it came to fetch him, with fresh Provisions for some Weeks, and of making the Duke de Cadaval, and the Nobles who were with him, very rich Presents. But the Expence of Savoy was nothing to that of Portugal, who besides the extravagant Entertainment and Presents which she made to the Savoy Embassador, did equip seven great Men of War; the Admiral of which Fleet, and on which the Duke was to have come, carried an hundred Brass Guns, and had all her Cabbins, Stern, and Sides so richly gilded and painted, that some, who had seen the best Ships both in England and in France, said they had never seen any thing like it before. The Portugueses, who are always profuse on such occasions, on this did seem to out-do themselves; the Nobles of both Sexes having laid out so much on rich Cloaths, Coaches, and
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Liberians, that their Estates and the
merchants felt it a long time after.

The Queen of *Portugal* who for
her own conveniency, and securi-
ty, had set her Heart on this
Match as much as her Sister of
Savoy, was so struck with this
Disappointment, that she scarce
ever appeared abroad afterwards,
and as she died not long after,
so it was said, that she had ne-
ver enjoy her self, nor taken a-
ny pleasure in any thing after
that.

France remained well mortified
with this success, for she had
promised her self the Dutchy of
Savoy, and to have made of it
one of the best Flowers of her
Crown; she stay'd not long before
she manifested her Resentment.
The Count of *Soissons*, to whom,
in case the Duke of *Savoy* died
without heirs, that Dutchy did
belong, after the Prince of *Careni-*
an his Uncle, had in *France* fallen
in

in Love with an ordinary Gentlewoman, of the Name of *Beauvais*; till this time his kindred had opposed the intention he had to marry her, and the King himself had commanded him to find a Wife that was his equal, but the King having been offended, with the procedure of the Nobles of *Piemont*, to revenge himself on them, he suffered that Count to execute his blind design.

This passed in *Piemont*, let us see now what occurred in *Germany*: The *French* had for a long time coveted the City of *Strasbourg*, and having understood its Importance, by its having so often during the last War, broke or disconcerted their Measures, they resolved now to have it at any price, to get it by force, they knew would be difficult, because that could not be done without having declared a War, and in that case all the Neighbouring Princes would have engaged themselves

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selves in its Defence, they judged
 it therefore to be the surest way
 to make use of Art; the King of
France had a Resident still in that
 City; but who did the Office of
 a Spye, rather than that of a
 publick Minister; that Resident
 had often writ to the King, that
 nothing was to be hoped, until the
 present Burgo-Masters, were out of
 their Office; but when the time
 came for a new Election, that
 Resident had bought so many
 Votes, and managed matters so,
 that the Persons who stood best
 affected to *France*, and were rea-
 dy to sell their Country for Mo-
 ney, were chosen. They were pro-
 mised an hundred thousand Crowns
 apiece, to deliver up the City to
 the *French*; so to deserve this,
 those Traytors to their Country
 represented to the Town Council,
 that they found the City loaded with
 Debt, by means of the great charge
 she had been forced to be at during
 the late War; that therefore now
 there

there was a peace, there was a necessity of lessening the number of their Garrison, that the King of France who was the only Prince they were afraid of, was turning all his force against Italy; that the main of his Troops having marched that way, before it would be possible to draw them back, they should have time enough to seek for succour from their Neighbours, who were too much interested in their Preservation, to deny it to them, but supposing the worst, they had no cause to fear any thing this Winter, that King being at such a distance from them, and the Winter so far advanced, so that at present there was no appearance of danger, and that having by this Reform saved a good deal of Money, in the Spring they might see what was most convenient to be done: This inclination in the Council to good Husbandry, pleased the People, and though it was opposed by the ablest Patriots, they were forced to yield to the stream of the Populace

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pulace, upon this a great part of
 the Garrison was disbanded, and
 which was the worst, all the old
 Soldiers were discharged. As the
 King of *France* had with great
 anxiety expected the issue of this
 Negotiation, so at the time that was
 agreed on, he left *Fontainebleau*, and
 caused his Troops to defile with
 so great Diligence, that *Strasburgh*
 was besieged by them, when she
 thought they had been in a Cor-
 ner of *France*. Some Cannons were
 Fired on both sides, to remove
 all suspicious of intelligence; but
 they were not enough to cover
 the Treason from the Citizens:
 and though it might have been too
 late to have remedied it, yet there
 did not want those, who were
 for making a vigorous defence,
 but the scum of the City having
 been bribed by the Resident of
France, and encouraged in it by
 the Burgo-Masters, they went to
 the Town-house, crying out,
 they would have them capitulate,
 and

and not to suffer the City to be Fired with Bombs and hot Bullets. The Burgo-Masters did easily comply with their instance, and having commanded a Parley to be beat, they hung out a white Flag, for a signal of their being disposed to surrender themselves, and which in the end they did. I do not at all blame the French for this, or any such like Action, since they have no scruple to violate the most sacred Treaties, but that which I do condemn them for, is that they will be still troubling themselves to give a Colour of justice, to their usurpations; for when the Emperor sent the Count of Mansfield to France to complain of this violation of the Peace, they told him, That they did not understand how the Emperor came to Meddle in a thing, that did not at all concern him, asking him, if it was not lawful for the King to subdue one of his own Cities, that was in Rebellion against him;

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him; for that Strasburgh being the Metropolis of Alsatia, did belong to the King of France, in vertue of the Treaty of Munster, and that the reason why he had not made himself Master of it before, was because he had been diverted from it, by other Dependencies of greater Moment; Upon this, I would desire the French to Answer me only a question or two; if Strasburgh was a Town that belonged to France, as they say it was, why had the King ever since a Minister in it? Why during all the late War, did he Treat with it to maintain it self in a Neutrality? and finally, why did he complain so often of that Cities not having observed an exact Neutrality? In truth, France has no Answer to give to this; that is worth the Ink that I have spent in writing it. I pass to her other attempts. The surprizing of Strasburgh thus did awaken all the Princes of Germany; who before like the King of England, had

had all been lulled fast asleep; every one talked of revenging this Offence; but when it came to Execution, there was not one that did not start insuperable difficulties; one wanted Money to make Levies; another did not care to venture his Troops which he kept up for other ends; another asked whose the City should be if it were retaken; in fine, they were Unanimous in nothing, but in erring, and in preparing New Chains for the publick Liberty.

On the other side *France* spent no time in unprofitable Discourses, she had during the last War held a Correspondence with *Tekeli* by the means of one *Boban*, a Native of the Country of *Ardenes*, whom I knew a Lieutenant of Horse in the Troops of *France*, he afterwards served the Poles, and having been disbanded when the Peace was made betwixt *Poland* and the *Turk*, he went to seek his Fortune in the honourable party
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of *Tekeli*; where he did hope to raise himself, for besides that he was a Man of parts, he had other Talents which with time he hoped would advance him to the highest post in the Army. He had come to *France* three or four years before, and having made himself known to the ministry, they settled a Correspondence with him of great consequence. When the time was come, the *French* Ministers called upon him to comply with his Promise, and in that he gave them all the satisfaction they could desire; *Tekeli* by his means having promised to make a Diversion on the side of *Hungary*, and to enable him to draw the *Turks* into that Country, *Bohan* had furnished him with some Money, and had given him hopes of a great deal more than he had promised. This Negotiation was so open that none that have any Information of what passeth in the World can be ignorant of it. The
Letters

Letters went from *France* to *Germany*, and from *Vienna* to *Bohan*, by the way of the *French* Envoys Secretary, and by *Bohan* they were transmitted to *Tekeli*. That Secretary was in Prison a long time for it, and had not the King of *France* caused Count *Mansfield's* Secretary to be imprisoned, it had cost him his Life, but that Count having been told by Monsieur *De Reine*, that his Secretary should have the same treatment which the *French* Secretary had at *Vien-*
na, he dispatched a Courier presently to the Emperor to acquaint him with it, who upon that did put a stop to the judicial proceedings which were going on against that Secretary; choosing to pardon the Guilty, rather than to give occasion to destroy an Innocent Person: However, to shew his Resentment of this injury, the Emperor did not release that Prisoner, but at *Brizack*, to which

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place he was carried in Chains, in a Cart attended with a strong guard; it was to be believed the K. of *France* would have done the same to Count *Mansfield's* Secretary, but whether it was from some inward remorse, or an unwillingness to violate the Rights of Nations, as to which I do own, he is something punctual, that Secretary was let out of the *Bastile*, without using reprisals, and not only so, but was permitted to remain in *Paris*.

The great noise, the surprizing of *Strasburgh* had made, having, as I have observed, vanished presently, *France* whole Appetite will encrease, whilst she has any thing to gnaw upon; began in vertue of a Right of Dependency, and which she enlargeth in Proportion to her insatiableness, to demand part of the Country of *Liege*, even to the half of that City, and that being a Province which confines on *Germany*, and the low Countrys,

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and so very convenient for his designs upon those States, that he might meet with no Opposition from the People of *Liege*, he had during the late War, caused all its Fortifications to be dismantled. He kept *Dinant* still by vertue of an Article of the Peace of *Nimeguen*, and for which the *Spaniards* had stipulated, either to procure for him, from the Elector of *Cologne* who was Prince and Bishop of *Liege*, the Property of that Castle, and the Ratification of it by the Imperial Diet, or else to deliver up to him *Charlemont*.

The *Spaniards* were not able to perswade that Elector, to dismember that place from his Estate; or to speak more properly, the King of *France* had underhand engaged him not to consent to its being dismembred, that he might have a pretence to give us disturbance when he pleased; he had likewise taken care that the Imperial Diet should not agree to it. Upon these

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these Obstacles *France* called on the *Spaniard* continually, to have *Charlemont* delivered up to her, in conformity to that Treaty; The Duke de *Villa Hermosa*, foreseeing what would be the consequence of it, he delay'd to do it all that he was able; but in the end perceiving, that the King of *France* threatned to invade *Flanders*, if it were not done, he did put *Charlemont* into his hands, which is now unquestionably one of the strongest Places of his Kingdom, and of which after he was once Master, he talk'd no more of restoring *Dinant*, but did secretly intend with it to block up *Namur*, on the side of the *Maes*, so as to cut off from that City, the whole benefit of that River, when he pleas'd. For the *French* being once Masters of the whole Country of *Liege*, I don't see how *Namur* can be succoured otherwise than by Land. The *Spaniards* having complained of this Treatment, that was

of no Advantage to them; for *France* made no account of their complaints, but on the contrary blamed them for not having observed the Treaty of *Nimeguen*, for having delaid to deliver to her *Alost*, which unjust pretension, until she had got *Dinant*, had not been carried on with so much fervour.

All the Electors of the *Rhine* had likewise something to do with *France* upon the Right of Dependencies, by which she pretended to appropriate to her self all the Places that were for her convenience: and when they had let all go that she desired; or to speak more properly, when she had taken all to her self, like Fire after having consumed all that was near her, she went farther for fuel, so after having siezed on a vast Country, the King of *France* aspired to all the Capital Cities of the Electors. He said, and with an armed energy, that the ground
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the Archbishop of *Treves* his Stables were built upon, was his, with the whole Country of *Hann*, where the best Wines upon the *Rhine* do grow: but his pretensions upon *Cologne*, and *Mentz*, were not limited to so narrow a compass, for he published, that as both those Cities had been much enlarged, so all that had been built in them on one side, for four or five Ages, did stand upon the Land, which had been yielded to him by the Peace; and that he was resolved either to demolish those Houses, and reduce those Cities to their Ancient limits, or oblige the owners of them, for the future, to depend on the Crown of *France*.

Nothing, according to the regular Course of things, could have stopped the Mouths of those, who cried out, that the King of *France* aspired to have his Son, chose King of the *Romans*, so fully as this; the dispoiling of the Major part of those who are the Electors

of that King, not being consistent with that design; but it made them sensible at the same time, that he was running with full speed, to give a Successor to the Empire by force; and that this was the mark he aimed at by that procedure, the Emperor, and the *Spaniards*, and all the other faithful Allies did see plainly. But such was the ill Fortune of *Europe*; that whilst they spent years in resolving about Trifles, *France* was subduing of *Germany*, and preparing Chains and Fetters, of whose weight none are sensible, but they that wear them, his own Ancient Subjects, and (even those among them who are daily sacrificing their Blood to facilitate his Exaltation) not being better treated by him than others. To begin with those who serve him in his Armies; you must know, that they are obliged to an Extraordinary expence, until they have spent all they have, and when he is sensible they have nothing

nothing left, he seeks for Pretences to rid himself of them; without leaving them any recourse, but to an Hospital, and for that purpose he has built one, which is truly Sumptuous, but it costs him but little to maintain it, he having settled on it the Estates which the Devotion of some People had given to the relief of poor Leapers, but those Rents not having been found sufficient, or it was pretended at least that they were not, he has cut off a certain Portion from the Officers and Soldiers pay, which he disposeth of with a bad Presage for them; and which they bear contentedly, because they know, that if they do not die before, that Hospital must be their last Habitation. Neither are they used any better, that do not serve him in his Armies, for though they may not be obliged to so great an Expence at once, yet he pares them by little and little, nor does he suffer them to

rest, until he has had their last penny from them, and though they have now had a Peace for some years, he has not abated them one farthing of their Taxes; so that it may be truly said, that the King is the only gainer, and all the rest are losers by the War; for notwithstanding he hath joined the County of *Burgundy*, with many more Conquests to his Territories, which has very much increased his Revenues, he has been so far from abating any of his former Taxes, that he has added new Subsidies to them.

But as they that serve him, and they that do not, do suffer thus, so there is another sort of People, against whom considering the cause, he exerciseth his Violences more excusably. These are the Hereticks in his Kingdom, who before did live according to their own Rites, without any molestation, under the shadow of Edicts, which were continued to them, after the

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the strong places were taken from them, which they had abused, to propagate, and to secure their Sect; By this *France* would have acquired great honour, with all sincere people, who do not penetrate into things, had she not at the same time given the Pope a thousand disgusts; which shall not be specified here, because I do not love to increase the pain of wounds, which are still fresh and bleeding, and that in the most sensible part of the Orthodox Faith; I pray God, it may not at some time or other cost the Church, if not a Member newly rotten, yet the festering of the wound she received from those who are already separated from her universal Body.

All Catholics rejoiced, undoubtedly, at what *France* has done to the Huguenots, that were within her, by the Missions of Angels, for such the Ecclesiasticks who are dedicated to their Conversion, may be reckoned, and

likewise at what has been done by the Dragoons, whom the Hereticks call Devils, which were sent among them, and quartered upon them, to bend them right.

It is alone enough, to make Pope-ry, any honest Mans Aversion, to see how a zeal for it, infatuates the wisest, in all the matters of its concerns; and how it inspires the sweetest natural Tempers, with cruelty; for unless we will Judge, that what this writer, saith here, was spoke in Hypocrisie; and I do not think it was; what but an Infatuation, could have made a Person of so much Judgment, and who on all other Occasions appears to be so great a Friend to justice, and to the quiet of Mankind; and who was not much disposed neither, to think the better of any thing, for the **FRANCE** King's having done it, thus to have applauded that King's having quartered his Dragoons upon his Protestant Subjects, to compel them to change their Religion, in contradiction to the known Laws of God and the Land; for tho' I do agree with this writer, that the **FRANCE**

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FRENCH King's Procedure, upon his Rights of Condemniency, and Dependancies, was in all the instances he mentions, a long run of bare faced injustice, yet I cannot think that it was in any instance, so perfidious, unjust, oppressive, and inhumane as in this; which his zeal for Popery made him applaud so much.

But a Superior Power, which made no account of the murmurs of a Schismatical populace, not able to resist its Rigors; and so little account of what the Orthodox said, as not to seek to cover a Proceedure so contrary to those Demonstrations; as the fomenting if not the raising of the Rebellion in *Hungary*, did sufficiently undeceive all its intelligent Subjects, that wished well to the publick quiet.

So it being manifest, that the ill Cause, or Pretext of *Tekeley's* disobedience, is chiefly to maintain Liberty of Conscience, to those People who were formerly poisoned
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with the Doctrines of *Luther*, and *Calvin*, did make both the Catho-
 licks, and the Calvinists of *France*,
Germany, *England*, *Holland*, and of
 all *Europe*, unanimously to Discourse
 of the impossibility that there is, of
 serving God and Mammon, Re-
 ligion & the Interest of this World.
 For say they, how can the taking the
Hereticks Temples from them in *France*,
 and the demolishing of them, consist
 with the helping the *Hereticks* in *Hun-*
gary, to *Commanders*, *Money*, and
Counsel, and that in order to exter-
 minate the true Faith out of those
Temples, to which it had been restored,
 and had been maintained in them, by
 the *Austrian Piety*, what an horror
 must it raise, in the *Ages* to come,
 as well as in the present, to see this
Action registred in *Chronicles*, with
 the circumstances, of the *Monarch* in
 whose name it was done, and in whose
 favour; having been in favour of
 one who is a Rebel both to God, and to
 his King, and with so great obstinacy,
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that to support his cause, he had not only recourse to the Tyrant of the East, but was the Solicitor of that movement against the Empire, which has been seen and felt by experience; and all this, by the Counsel, Encouragements, and Correspondencies of the Ministers of France, and which the divine Majesty suffered to be made publick, by the Authentick documents of it, which were found in the Tent of the Grand Visier before Vienna; the Original of which Papers were shewed to the King of Poland, and to the Diet of that Kingdom, by the Imperial Envoy, the Baron de Zerowiski, to the terror and instruction of all those, who ought to be jealous of the Procedure of the French, and of their black policy. These are not my words, but the very words, and the most modest, that are bestowed in that Policy, by the whole North. However the Ministers and Partisans of France, may seek to disguise matters at Rome, by boasting, that as yesterday they established the Catholick

tholick exercise in the magnificent Cathedral Church of *Strasburgh*, so to morrow, they will go on to the New Fortrefs of *Huningen*, and do as much for *Basil*, and that as in *Geneva* Mass is said already in the *French* Residents house; so they doubred not e'er long of being as much Masters of the Cathedral of *Geneva*, as they are of that of *Strasburgh*. But this trick did not last long, no more than that Rumour of a zeal to restore the true Religion in *Holland*, having been one of the chief motives to the *French* conquests there. It is true, that the Mass was restored by them in the great Church of *Utrecht*, and in all the fourty places likewise which with an unheard of Fortune, and without doubt for that holy end, the divine power did give to the Arms of *France*, in less time than one that is curious to see World, would have spent in visiting of them. Was there any Catholick, though an Enemy to that Crown,

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Crown, that did not in his heart
 rejoyce at those prodigious Victo-
 ries which had less of Brasse than
 of Gold in them. But when they
 complied with half of Christ's Pre-
 cept, in returning to God his own,
 why did they not observe the other
 half, in returning to *Cæsar*, or to
 the ancient Lord of those Countries
 his own? However, there was no
 Catholick that would not have
 sworn, that this their new Con-
 querour would never have parted
 with those Provinces, without ha-
 ving first settled and secured in
 them, all that concerned God's In-
 terest; and especially in those Parts
 where many of the Natives had
 preserved themselves untouched
 from the Contagion of Heresie;
 and they that had not, might ea-
 sily have been restored to the bo-
 som of the Church, having lawful
 Pastors so near them, and being
 allowed the free Exercise of the
 true Religion; but it happened
 quite otherwise, no mention of
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Religion having been made by the Ministers of *France*, who had the Concerting of the Evacuation of those places; nay the very *Hollanders*, admired and were scandalized, to see them take money to suffer the fortifications to stand; without remembring the Churches which were to be profaned the next Day: This in Truth goes beyond the Bounds of what is proposed in the Title of his Book; but before I confine my self within them again; let me be suffered to take but two steps more of a zealous Catholick liberty: and which will not be ill Employed, in considering how little our Religion is beholding to the *French* in their first Military expeditions after the Peace of the *Pyrenees*.

The Succours *France* afforded the *Emperor* in the other War with the *Turks*, made a mighty noise: But a Serpent lay concealed in the Laurels, they arrogated to them-

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themselves for the Victory of St.
Gothard: And that Discovered it
 self further in the Negotiations of
 the Commendador *Gremonvil*, who
 was at that time the *French*
 Envoy to the Imperial Court:
 And in the Depositions of the
 Counts *Zrin*, *Nadazti*, and *Fran-*
gipani, it plainly shewed it self,
 to be of another cast than that
 of *Moses*. As to *Candia*, the *Ve-*
netians do with bleeding hearts
 lament the *French* having by their
 rash and unseasonable violence,
 hastned the loss of that City.
 The business of *Gigry*, and late-
 ly that of *Argiers*; do confirm,
 that all, that that Crown under-
 takes against the Infidels, is no-
 thing but a blaze, being un-
 dertaken by them, with no o-
 ther aim but to secure their
 Commerce without having any
 eye to the propagation of the
 Faith. The only lasting Flames
 raised by *France*, are those the
 kindles amongst her Neighbours,
 with-

without the least regard to the most sacred, and the nearest bonds of Blood, Treaties, and Oaths. But it is now time for me to return to the more proper course of my Intention.

Only the Prince of *Orange*, of all that had been ill treated by the King of *France*, within and out of his Kingdom, had, if I may so say, the Courage to oppose him; for, though that Prince could do no more than the Republick of *Holland* would permit him to do; yet, having a Soul much superiour to his Fortune, he was continually representing to some, *That it was much better for them all to perish, than for to subject themselves to so dangerous a Power*; and to others, *the necessity that there was of taking up Arms against it*; he did likewise much retrench his own personal Expences, that he might have Money to support the brave Officers which had been disbanded by the *States*, upon the Peace; that so they might

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might not be driven by want to seek after Service in other Countries, and that he might have them still ready when he should have occasion for them.

France, who was not ignorant of that Prince's being the most formidable Enemy she had, did resolve to bestow upon him some particular Demonstrations of her Resentment, not to say of her Injustice.

His Principality of *Orange* is situated between the Province of *Languedoc* and the Country of *Avignon*, which had been in him and his Ancestors ever since it came into their Family, from the House of *Chalons*: but the King of *France*, who is for having no Sovereign but himself in *France*, nor no where else in *Europe*, did order the City of *Orange* to be dismantled, neither could the Prince have any Satisfaction, though he complained of it to that King: who judging that not to be Punishment enough for the

the Prince, he determined to strip him entirely, and to that end did set up the Title of *Madam de Nemours*, and who by virtue of some Pretensions, as ridiculous as chimerical, did cite the Prince before the Grand Council; from which, upon the Prince's not having presented himself before it, she obtained a Decree to be put in possession of that Principality.

I, nor no body else, can imagine on what this Decree could be founded: if it was on a pretended Substitution of the House of *Chalons*, to which the Prince of *Orange's* Ancestors had not yielded Satisfaction: besides that, the contrary may easily be proved; *Madam de Nemours*, though she could have justified her Right, came too late to do it: for by the Laws of that Kingdom, or at least by those that I have seen, in a Tract of Customs and Uses, thirty years Possession is sufficient to the acquiring of a peaceable and incontestable Right; where-

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whereas the Prince of *Orange*, and his Ancestors, had been then above an hundred and fifty Years in Possession of that Principality. But that did not hinder *Madam de Nemours* from obtaining that Decree, which was not long after revoked. In the mean time the Prince sent *Monsieur Heinsius* to *Paris*, to represent to the King the Injustice that had been done him; and the *States General* did charge their Embassadors to solicit that Affair. But neither the one nor the others Diligence availed any thing; and that Envoy, after he had laboured in that Business for several Months, returned home without having obtained any thing. But let us pass to other things: all that has been said hitherto, being nothing when compared to what I have to say.

The King of *Poland* had always been a Friend to *France*; and that Crown had boasted of its having raised him to the Throne: He was also regaled by *France* at several times,

times, with Presents, as Marks of her Friendship ; had the Order of the Holy Ghost sent him ; and in fine, he was the only Prince in all *Europe* that she spoke well of. Let us see now how they came to break to pieces, and whose Fault it was : It afflicts me much to publish that which I cannot pass over in silence ; for having gone so far, there is no retreating for me.

The Money which had been sent by *France* to *Tekely*, had turned well to her account, the *Turks* by that means having been engaged to enter into a War with the Emperor : of that Design *France* having had timely and certain notice, yet preferring her own Idea's to every thing else, she made no scruple to solicit the King of *Poland* to invade the Estates of the Emperor on his side : and whereas the Right of Conveniency is the Right that *France* best understands, and which Right she never denied to her self ; so believing that it might

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be the same with the King of *Poland*, she proposed to him the Conquest of *Silesia*, where he would meet with no opposition, the *Turks* being to invade *Hungary* at the same time.

The King of *Poland*, who is a Prince of an admirable Comprehension, and does not stand in need of being instructed by any body in the matters of his true Interest; did not hold it to be either convenient, or for his own Honour, or for that of his Crown, to agree to this Proposition: on the contrary, he accepted of the Alliance proposed to him by the Emperor, whereby they promised reciprocally to succour one another against the *Turks*.

France no sooner heard of this, than in an instant she turned her Friendship into an irreconcilable Enmity; and did order the Marquis de *Vitri*, her Embassador in that Court, who was a very crafty Man, and capable of managing all

all sorts of Plots, by some means or other, to raise Differences betwixt that King and his Subjects.

Moraston, the high Treasurer of *Poland*, who was a Pensioner of *France*, and had fixed his eyes so on that Kingdom, that he had bought an Estate there, to settle his Family in it; did assist *Vitri* strenuously in the carrying on of that cursed Design. I would here have set down an Extract of the Affair from the Records of the Dyet of *Poland*, were it not already sufficiently known by what has already run through *Europe* both in Manuscript and in Print. They had quickly gained some of the discontented Senators to their side; and to that degree, as to have the Impudence to introduce Speeches of obliging the King, who had done the Republick of *Poland* so much Honour, to renounce his Crown; and they had also a Successor for him in their eye; when

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it pleased God that the King
 should intercept a Letter of *Moraston's* in Cypher; the King cal-
 led *Moraston* to him, and asked
 him in Terms, which did not
 conceal his just Indignation, what
 he had write in that Letter;
 and seeing him doubtful, and
 disturbed, the common infirmity
 of a Guilty Conscience, he asked
 him for the Key of it, as the
 easiest way of coming to the
 knowledge of the secret; *Moraston*
 answered, his Wife had it, the
 King then commanded her to be
 called, she came with great speed,
 but when she heard what the
 Business was, she said she had
 burnt the Cypher: and they ha-
 ving both persisted, in denying all,
 to cover their wicked design, the
 Moderation of that good King
 was such, that for the good of
 the Republick rather than for his
 own, he contented himself with
 commanding them to be de-
 tained,

tained , and to have guards , set upon them , until he had such proofs of their Crimes as would satisfie the Senate, and the whole Kingdom of their being Guilty. I will here double down the Leaf, and only say, that the Embassador of *France*, as all Christendom knows , being convicted, by constant and undeniable proofs , of having had the chief hand in that Enormous Plot, a certain Senator, much devoted to the King , and his Country , did in a full Assembly of the Diet, say, *That for less cause the Turks had given two hundred Drubs to an Embassador of France that assisted in Constantinople, and that his vote was that Monsieur de Vitry should have four hundred Drubs given him :* but the King , who is as Moderate, as he is Politick, would not suffer that fervent Speech to go on , nor that vote to be Registred, with the rest of the

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the Votes of that day contenting himself with having commanded it, to be signified to *Vitry*, that he had exceeded, against the Character of an Embassador, and against the Laws of Nations: after which Message, that Minister stay'd not long in *Poland*, and that he was not stoned when he withdrew, was owing to the Heroick Moderation of that great King by whose example his Subjects are influenced, to reserve their Courage to be employ'd against the declared Enemies of her holy Faith, but this ought not to hinder what happened at *Warsovia*; from being a warning to all other Courts where the King of *France* thinks fit to employ *Vitry's* known Talents.

Having omitted some of the Circumstances of the Blockade of *Luxemburgh*, by having been drawn insensibly to speak of o-

ther Matters: I shall add here what was the success of that Business, which had I followed the Regular series of things would have been mentioned before.

The Conquest of *Strasburgh*, and the having bought *Cassal*, did, as I have said, give a terrible Blow to the Emperor, and to the *Spaniards*; they had, but in vain, desired all their Neighbouring Princes to apply themselves to recover those two Places; but some of them wanting Forces, and others having been gained by *France*; the Business was remitted to the Diet of *Frankfort*, where some Months were spent in examining a single Passport, and four or five Months in deciding whether they should speak in *Latin*, or in *Dutch*, or in *French*; so that instead of having any relief on that side, our Wounds were made more incurable; the Empire and *Spain* despairing of
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any good from the Diet of *Ratisbonne*, did by concert Order their Troops to march towards *Strasburgh* and *Cassal*, both which Places the *French* had begun to fortifie, but which at that time were both open, the old Fortifications having been taken down, and the new ones not finished; but though neither the Emperor, nor *Spain* found themselves in a Disposition to engage in any enterprize; the King of *France* being but newly established in the Conquest of those two Places, imagined that they did not make that motion with so great Forces, but with some Design; and apprehending that they might have some secret intelligence in those Cities, he ordered the Blockade of *Luxemburgh* to be raised, that he might have Troops ready to oppose them; and being willing to have that attributed to some other Cause that was more plausible,

fible, he called the Marquis *de la Fuente*, Ambassador of Spain to him, and told him, *that being informed that the Turks were ready to invade Hungary, he had ordered his Troops to withdraw from about Luxemburgh, that the King of Spain might be at leisure to succour the Emperor.* The Embassador, though he knew the whole truth of that Business, yet did thank the King for it, as a great favour; but at the same time, he did not neglect to acquaint his own King, with the true cause of this great and sudden change; which was not indeed hid from any Body that had any light of the Affairs of the World; and if I may be allowed to speak, what I think of it, it was an Artifice too gross to deceive any Person of judgment: for if it was true, that their King had then such good intentions, why did he afterwards give them the Lye, by
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so many Actions which were contrary to them; why did he Correspond with *Tekeley*? To what end did he set so many Machines at Work in *Poland*, why did he enter into such Alliances with *Denmark* and *Brandenburgh*, why so many solicitations and Negotiations with Princes, to bring them over to his side? Finally, why did he threaten the Diet of the Empire, if they did not grant him all his demands. I know very well, the Answer they will return to all this; they will deny that that concerns *Tekeley*, and the King of *Poland*, and as to the rest they will say the King of *France* acted in them, like a great States-Man, or as one well instructed in the Art of reigning; and that the making of Alliances does not always serve to move War against their Neighbours, but to keep their Neighbours from making

War upon them, I say, I know they may deceive the ignorant by denying the one, and by giving some Colours to the other, but I would fain know what Answer they can give to the question I am going to put to them; why the King of *France*, who was pleased to raise the Blockade of *Luxemburgh* a year before the *Turks* invaded *Hungary*; did when it was actually invaded by them, order one Army to march into *Alsatia* to Alarm the Emperor, a second Army to march into *Flanders* to oblige the *Spaniards* to look after their own Estates; a third Army to march upon the *Saar* to terrifie the Electors, and a fourth Army to march upon *Soan* to alarm all the rest of *Europe*? Would he have us think, that he was more moderate upon the foresight of the great Evils which were ready to befall Christendom, than he was when those Evils were actually

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actually come upon her, for it was when he saw Christendom, in that sad and most deplorable Estate, that he signified to the Emperor, that if he did not within a short term grant him all his unjust Pretentions, that he would come and do himself reason with his Arms: and having joyned deeds to his words, at that very time, he presented himself armed on the Emperors Frontier, in readiness to have seized diverse Provinces at once? It is true, he did not make War, but he did more mischief than if he had, having hindred the Princes, who fear him no less than they do the *Turk*, from disposing of their Troops in favour of the Emperor, and forcing the Emperor himself to imploy his Troops to guard the *Rhine*, until the Infidels were entered into his Territories, and had penetrated into the very heart of them, and had carried

an hundred thousand Souls into Slavery; and had burnt all the Villages, and laid wast all the Country, and in the end had besieged *Vienna*, the seat of his Residence, I can see I offend here against that which I taught in another place, where I condemn the spending of time, in the passing judgment on things, which are so clear in themselves, that they do want no Commentary, nor Explication; I confess this is a lesson, as hard to be observed, as it is for one that is in Love, to forbear talking of the Perfections of the Person he is in Love with; though those Perfections are at the same time visible to the Eyes of all Men: I do own this here, because that great Love which I have for truth, will not suffer me to be secure from relapsing into that which I blame in others. But let us proceed to examine, whether the
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King of *France* does not aspire after the Universal Monarchy, or rather to prove, that he has already usurped the Rights and Pre-eminences of other Sovereign Princes, as if he were the Supreme Lord of the whole World, and to take Notice likewise of the Machines he has set at work in all the Courts of *Europe*, not to reform the use of Policy amongst Princes, but to the manifesting of his own Intentions. All do know, how little he had to say to *Genova*, and that wanting pretext to break with her, he commanded her not to put any Gallies to Sea, pretending they were to joyn with those of *Spain*, and threatening her if she did, to resent it, as an Act of Hostility. He ordered the same to be told to the *Hollanders*, upon their having designed the last Spring to have sent some new Ships to the King of *Sweden*, so that though

though he has nothing to do with either of those two Republicks, yet he treats them in the same manner, as if they were his Subjects, and will not suffer a State which purchased their liberty at the cost of their Blood to make Alliances and to succour their Allies; though it is lawful for him who entituleth himself the most Christian, and the Eldest Son of the Church at the same time to confederate himself, with the mortal Enemy of all Christians.

Let us see now how he treats those that have left him, and those who follow him blindly? What has he not said of the Duke of *Bavaria*, for having abandoned his interests, and with an exemplary generosity, embraced those of the Emperor. What the King of *Poland* writ to his Queen, when he acquainted her with the Victory of *Vi-*

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enna proves this sufficiently? and what has he not done in *Liege* to foment and maintain the disobedience of the People against their Prince, that he may not be able of himself, nor with the Assistance of other Princes, to subdue his Subjects, in order to make that City a Barrier to hinder *France* from invading the Estates of others? and what has he not done in *Cologne* to set the Citizens together by the Ears, and who when they had an Enemy at their Gates were fighting, and cutting one anothers Throats? and what has he not done in *Hamburgh*, and *Lubeck*, where the Natives are in a conspiracy against their own Liberties, and against that of their Country? what Revolutions has he made in the Courts of the Princes of *Lanenburgh*, in which, the *French* Exiles have the chief hand, but who are banished their Country so, that they
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can return to it, when they please to acquaint the Ministers with their secret Managements? In fine, what does he not do, in the Emperors own Court, where having raised jealousies among the chief Ministers, with the Key of his Bribes he Penetrates into the most important Secrets; so that there is seldom any resolution there, that is not imparted to him. I know there do not want some, who will say that I deliver all this only upon conjecture; but after they have heard what I have further to offer, I will allow such to believe what they please.

After the Rout which was given to the Marshal *Crequi* near *Treves*; *France* was laid open to the Victors, and had no Troops to oppose them, and they if they had pleased, might have propagated the terrour of their Arms a great way into that Kingdom. The *French* did all apprehend that
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they would have done it, and those that were nearest to the danger had removed all their goods into places that were Gar- risoned, but at the same time Monsieur de Louvois told a certain Person, whom I knew very well in *France*, and by whom I was told it again, that the Enemy would do no more that Cam- paign, but would presently re- tire: I would here ask, whether it was the posture Affairs were in at that time, that could make that probable, or whether some intelligence out of the ordinary Course, or a Revelation, was not necessary to the believing, and affirming of a thing, so con- trary to that which every Body else believed. But as an ancient Writer has it, to what will not the covetousness of Riches yield? For these were the means, whereby the *Switzers* suffered *France*

France to put the Fortrefs of *Hunningen*, as a Bridle into their Mouths; and which tempted them to sell their Liberty, and their Country, infomuch that a certain Councillor, who in an Assembly of the *Cantons* represented to them the necessity there was of opposing a Power in time, whose Ambition did gape so wide after the Dominion of all *Europa*; was by the *French* Pensioners obliged to hold his Peace, and to go over to those who were in greatest Credit in that Republick, and with the same erroneous Dictate, those People without having made the least opposition, did suffer *France* to make her self Mistress of the County of *Burgundy*, from whence they might have received ready succours from their Neighbours. I do not speak of things which happened in the last War, because they are old and may appear

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Trivial neither can any Body be ignorant, of the *French* having with their Key of Gold, opened the Gates of many strong Places, nor of the many Enterprises which have been disconcerted by their Bribes, nor of what it was that retarded the Siege of *Philipsburgh*, and indeed I must enlarge beyond measure, if I should undertake to Reckon, on how many occasions their Money has been of Advantage to them, and prejudicial to us, and others.

However there was a thing hapened last Year in *Denmark*, which I cannot forbear to relate, and by it we may understand that *France* is not easily Prodigal of her Money.

The *Dane*, as I have said, had made himself a Tributary to *France*, or to speak more properly, he received a Pension from her, not to do any thing which she

she would not have him do;
 Monsieur Colebert, who admini-
 stered the Revenues of *France*,
 being willing to try whether the
 King of *Denmark* might not be
 brought to submit to his Pen-
 sions being retrenched, he did or-
 der his Brother Monsieur Colebert
de Croissy, who had the charge
 of all Foreign Affairs, to write
 concerning that matter to the
French Ambassador in *Denmark*;
 who having received that Order,
 did at an Audience he had of
 the King, communicate it to
 him; the King being much sur-
 prized at it, *told the Ambassador,*
that he had no answer to give him, but
he that would give one to his Ma-
ster by his Envoy at Paris; that
 King did so, and commanded his
 Envoy, in brisk Terms to re-
 present to the King of *France*,
 the Resentment, that the insinua-
 tion which had been made to him,
 had raised in him; the King an-
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answered, he did not understand what he meant, his Ambassador having spoke that without his order, neither was it ever in his Thoughts to lessen, or to add any thing to the Treaty he had made with his Master; and that his Ambassador, to teach him to follow his own Caprice; should be recalled for having followed it; and so to preserve the amity of the King of Denmark, the poor Ambassador was sacrificed.

The thing that remains now to be examined, is, why France being so powerful, and seeing so many Divisions among her Neighbours, did forbear to begin a new War, to me, it seems to be very easy to satisfy this.

It is the constant Opinion of those who have dived deepest into this matter, that France grounded her hopes chiefly on her secret Alliance with the Turk, and that the effects of that Alliance having depended on the disposition

fition of so vast an Empire, they
 could not possibly keep pace with
 the desires, and the haste *France*
 was in; besides, the Truce be-
 twixt the Emperor and *France*
 did not expire before the year
 1683. and *France* was willing to
 let that Truce expire, before she
 enterprized any thing against
Germany: neither was *France* cer-
 tain whether the *Turks*, who are
 not very punctual in keeping
 their word, but when it is for
 their interest to do it, would de-
 clare War against the Empire,
 or accept of the Advantageous
 Conditions of Peace, which the
 Emperor had offered them. The
 King of *France* at that time had
 likewise a great many Places to
 fortifie, whose Works his re-
 gular Policy, would not let re-
 main unfinished, until he had
 engaged himself in a new War,
 neither had he hitherto lost any
 favourable Opportunity, so that
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guilty of great imprudence, have begun the War sooner than he did. The thing that made it manifest, that the *Turks* and the *French* were to take the Field at the same time, was, that the King of *France* did no sooner hear of the *Ottoman* Armies being entered into *Hungary* than he departed from *Versalis*, and did put himself at the head of his Troops, and having at the same time commanded an Army which was upon the *Soan*, to March to the Frontiers, with an intention to have laid Siege to *Cologne* or *Philipsburgh*, of a sudden they changed their Minds; for that King having had intelligence, that the *Hungarians* had abandoned the pass of the River *Raab*, and that the *Turks* instead of besieging that Fortress, or that of *Comorra*, as they had pretended they would, were advanced with innumerable Forces to *Vienna*; with a Resolution to lay Siege to that City; though

though he was very willing to have had the *Turks* made a diversion, he was not for their making themselves Masters of the Empire, which he looked on as his own Patrimony: he thought the *Turks* would have besieged *Raab* and *Comorra*, and that those two places, being very strong both by Art, and Nature would have cost them much time and labour to have taken them, and in the mean while he intended to have done all that he had to do, with the Electors, and to have compelled them, being encompassed so with Enemies, to have granted all that he desired, intending after that to have incorporated his Armies with those of the Empire, and so to have marched against the *Turk*, and to have obliged him either to Fight or retire; which was a design worthy of a Grand Monarch, though it might have too much of Ambition in it; but when he understood that

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the *Turks* had laid Siege to *Vienna*, he was obliged to take other Measures ; knowing that it could be of no Advantage to him to invade the Empire, which another was ready to conquer by taking a single City : he might indeed on his side have filled the Empire with Ruine and Terroures, but he could not have established himself in it : he did therefore rather choose to observe at a distance what would be the Issue of the Siege of *Vienna* ; but in the meantime he did set all his engines to work, and they did necessarily labour to represent every thing to the Princes of *Germany* which they could think of, that would contribute to the discrediting of the Emperor with them, painting him very different from what he is, with his great Talents, and who in all sorts of Christian Heroical vertues is Superior to any one, the most Artificial emulation can set up against him. Notwithstanding that the
French

French Tools cry'd out, the Empire tottered under his direction, and did want a brave Prince, who to a thousand other good Qualities, had joyned that of knowing how to govern an Army in Person; that if the Turks did take Vienna, as it was much to be feared they would, that misfortune would threaten them all with the like. The only way therefore to avoid that, was to call a King to their assistance, who if they would choose his Son the Dauphin for King of the Romans, which he had along time sollicitated, would be with them presently; and that the Electors would not have done giving that King that satisfaction, before they would see the Affairs of the Empire put on a new face, that King's Troops being in their Neighbourhood, in readiness to succour them; finally, that he would make the Empire flourish in the same degree of Prosperity, it had been in, in former times, under the greatest Emperors; Prince William of Furstenburg, Bishop of Stras-

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Strasburgh, who had given or rather sold himself to *France*, and who had laboured for many years to surrender all his own Places to her, was one of those who drove on that Design with the greatest fury.

But the universal Hatred which the *Germans* had for the *French* over the whole Empire, made them resolve to try any other Expedient, tho' never so doubtful, rather than call the *French* in to their Assistance, all the Endeavours of *France* in this way having proved abortive. That King perceiving that he did but lose time in it, determined, until a favourable occasion should offer it self, to take another course which should be more for his Profit: And having still kept his Pretensions upon *Alost* alive, he commanded his Troops to march back to *Flanders*; and having named the General Officers, and which he never does but on the

G Vespers

Vespers of a War, he prepared to invade the *Low Countries*: but as he was ready to have executed that Design, his Queen, who was one of the most vertuous Princesses in the World, died, after only three days Sickness.

It was said the Physicians had erred in her Cure; but there was likewise an Opinion that her Distemper being old, and continual from the time she was married, was become incurable: for if Grief, and to that her Death was attributed, useth to shorten Peoples days, it must shorten none so much as theirs, who are by certain Respects obliged to dissemble it, and are forbid to give it any vent. But as I am not willing, so neither indeed ought I to search too deep into that matter: I shall therefore only say, that her Sorrows, which her Prudence had dissembled, were not all of one sort: for may not one
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venture to say, that the unjust Violation of the *Pyrenean* Treaty was a thing no humane Consideration could dress, so that she should be able to swallow it; or can any think that she was voluntarily a Complice, or did ever consent to a Perjury directed to the violating of that most sacred Peace, which had been the most solemnly sworn of any that had ever been made betwixt those two Crowns; to the filling of all *Europe* with Scandal, Ruins, and Slaughters; or that her high Discretion did not see through the little false Chicaneries with which *France* endeavoured to colour over the horrid Designs of an unjust Ambition, which had nothing else to stand upon. She was a Christian, and of a Christianity which had been refined by the Education, and in the School of a Father and a King, who was one of the best Christians

stians the World hath seen: she admirably understood the Force, the Distinction, and the Limits of the Obligations of a Daughter, and of a Wife, and of a Mother; and knew how, according to the Law of God and Man, to keep her self from confounding, or chopping and changing those Obligations, on the account of any humane Interests, which were prejudicial to her Conscience and to the universal Quiet. Several of the deceased Marquis *de la Fuente's* Dispatches, and other Witnesses who are still alive, would, if they were published, manifest how often she was seen alone upon her Knees, before a Crucifix, sighing forth those Sorrows with a Flood of Tears, which the cause or pretext to so many Miseries had afflicted her Soul withal. This is part of her true and essential Funeral Oration, and which was made, as it

were

were by concert, in the Hearts of all *Spaniards*, and of the most ingenuous amongst the *French*, and of those particularly, who having had a nearer participation of the splendor of her Vertues, had cause to know her well; whereas the Panegyricks which were pronounced all over *France* on her Obsequies, did flatter others, rather than praise her proper and greatest Vertues; though it must be acknowledged, that the King himself did supply that with such shews of Sorrow, that he gained by them the greatest and most sincere Elegies of all *Europe*.

However, they were much deceived who imagined that this great Loss would have inspired that King with more moderate Dictates, and with such as were suitable to the warning that was given him in it by Heaven, and which was repeated in the Death of his first Minister *Colebert*; and

that they might have kept him from following the Opinion of those who declared, *That France could not refuse an occasion of advancing her Affairs to the benefit of her King, whilst the War of the Turks was on fire, and the Forces of the North were by the reciprocal Jealousies of some Princes diverted, and the best and readiest Forces of the Empire were employ'd against those Infidels, as was represented in the Dyet of the Empire by the extraordinary Embassy of Spain.*

The Opportunity which the Jealousies, Artifices, and Divisions of the Forces and Minds of the *Germans* afforded, and which were all procured and managed by *French Money and Dexterity*, made that Court deaf to the danger *Vienna* was in, though that Danger increased daily; and to the holy and uncessant Exhortations of the Pope, accompanied with copious and exemplary Liberalities

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beralities from his Holiness, and all the Princes and Republicks of *Italy*; those only excepted, whose Neighbourhood to the *French* Arms, which are not less feared than those of the *Eastern* Tyrant, obliged them to employ all their Force in their own immediate Defence: so much had *France* forgot the Glory on which she founds the highest Title she gives her King, of being the most Christian, and the eldest Son of the Church, that all *Europe*, the foundest part of his own Kingdom not excepted, did look on a Procedure with Horror, which preferred the Pretension of an Equivalent for four Cottages, as I may say, to the imminent Danger all Christendom was in at that time: though, to speak the truth, there were but few that did not see that *France*, under that trivial Pretext, did seek to palliate her Design on an universal

Conquest. And since the first care of one that writes concerning such Affairs as these, must be, not to mince matters, but to call things by their proper Names, I, who do not care to pretend to Forgetfulness, cannot forbear to publish the strong Aversion *France* discovered to the sending of any Succours, to put a stop to the violent Progress of the *Ottoman* Arms in *Austria*: *France* at that time did not only forbid all her own Subjects, under the severest Penalties, to go to serve the Emperour in his Armies, but she did also prohibit the performing of any publick Devotions for the Prosperity of the Emperour's Arms in that Holy War; which was a thing one could not have believed of a Nation which formerly had been so zealous in defending the Honour of God, and his Altars, had it not been made so manifest by the Bishop of *Arras*'s having

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having, for that pious end, set forth a Mandate, or Pastoral Letter, and whose Tenour I shall here insert, for the Honour of that Prelate, and for a Proof of an Obdurateness, which Thoughts expressed with an Energy sufficient to have made an Impression on Impiety it self, were not able to soften: the Piety of almost all the other Bishops, under the *French* Jurisdiction, as well within the ancient Dependencies of that Crown, as within its Conquests, had likewise disposed them to use the same diligence: but the Intendant of the Province of *Artois*, when he heard of that Bishop's Mandate, advertized him, to consider what he did, and whether the King might not take it in ill part: But the Prelate, with the Spirit and Resolution of a Saint *Ambrose*, answer'd the Intendant, That he had complied with his Obligations, and that in the Spirituals

of his Bishoprick, he did not understand Royal Orders. Which Answer having been sent to the King by the Intendant, a Prohibition was presently sent from Court, prohibiting these Devotions: and the Bishop was disgraced for having commanded them.

I do not here insert that Pastoral Letter, because it is very long, and contains nothing but a zealous Exhortation to all the Christians of that Diocess by Prayers, Fasting, and all other holy Exercises, to wrestle with Heaven in favour of the Emperour's Arms, against the Enemies of the Faith.

The same was done to the Bishop of *Cambray*; neither could his being by his Dignity a Prince of the Empire, against which the Infidels were fighting, protect him from receiving the same Mortification.

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This, as well as the other Vexations which some *French* Bishops have of late Years suffered, contrary to the Ecclesiastical Immunity, did make all good Catholics in *France*, and in all other Nations, attribute this Procedure to an intention in the King of *France* to ingratiate himself with the Grand Visier; and especially after having observed the sympathetical and agreeing Conformity which from the beginning of the Campaign had been betwixt the Armies of *France* and those of the *Turk* in all their Motions, *Kara Mustapha* having scarce made his first Step with his formidable Army, to invade the *Austrian* Estates; when *France* was with her Armies, forming one Encampment on the *Sare*, and another upon the *Sone*; and by the terrible Blow that she was ready to have given upon the *Rhine*, diverted the Forces of the Princes of

of *Germany*, which were prepared, and were the nearest at hand to have succoured the Emperour. And as all the World knows this to be true, so it was told them by Don *Pedro Ronquillo*, Embassador of the Catholick King to the King of *Great Britain*, in a Letter dated the 26th of *November* the last Year, which was writ by him to *Jenkins* the Secretary of State; and that, on the 29th of *August*, which he believed was the last day of the Siege of *Vienna*, the *French* invaded the *Low Countries*: the Circumstances of which Invasion, are so capricious, extravagant, and inhumane, that I cannot but take some notice of them, tho' I shall leave the Particulars of the impious, sacrilegious, and inhumane Cruelties, which were exercised by the *French* in the *Low Countries*, in competition with the *Tartars* and the *Turks*, to a just History.

That

That great Body of Troops was commanded by the Marshal *de Humieres*, who when he first entred the *Low Countries*, dispatched the Brigadier *Hasfield*, with an open Letter, to do the Office of a King at Arms, to the Marquis *de Grana*, Governor and Captain General of the *Spanish Netherlands*; intimating to him, That he had an Order from the most Christian King, to quarter his Soldiers in *Alost*, and in all the other Places to which he pretended a Right; but, that he was not to do any thing contrary to the Peace, nor to commit any Hostilities, if his most Christian Majesty's Orders were not opposed, and if all that he demanded were yielded to him. To this the Marquis answered, That he was extremely surprized by such an important Message, at a time when he imagined all things to have been in a profound Peace, and by those Treaties,

which

which had been reciprocally sworn, it was provided that all Differences which might arise concerning it, should be amicably composed; that in the state Christendom was in at present, none could have imagined that the French would have disturbed its Peace in so strange a manner; that his Catholick Majesty had his Embassadour in Paris, and the most Christian King his in Madrid, where Affairs of this Importance are to be treated; finally, that his Catholick Majesty had trusted him with those Provinces, to defend them, but not to dismember them, and to give any part of them away.

The Brigadier returned with this Answer; but the cruel Die being thrown already upon those innocent People, Forty thousand Men under the Command of the Marshal *Humiers*, the Counts of *Mombrun* and *Montal*, and the Marquis *de Boufflers*, were divided, and they did, without re-

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regarding any Safeguards, penetrate
 into several parts, committing all
 that was done by the Invaders of
Austria, Burnings only excepted.
 But that no body may be decei-
 ved by this Exception, you are
 to know, that to supply the want
 of Fire, they marched furnished
 with a great number of Carpen-
 ters and Masons, who did with-
 out it lay divers Castles and all
 other sorts of Edifices even with
 the Ground, as if they thought
 their not having made use of that
 devouring Element, were suffi-
 cient to take from those Violences
 the Name of a War, even with
 the Enemy they exercised them
 upon: And notwithstanding they
 did at the same time seize on se-
 veral Towns and Castles, and
 having turned his Catholick Ma-
 jesty's Garrisons out of them, they
 impoted Taxes and Contributions
 on the very Places which they had
 sacked: and having apprehended
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the Judges, and all the other Officers of Justice, they carried away all the Cattel, and all the other Moveables, and the Granaries of particular Persons, to the Magazines, which they had in their Garrisons. And that they might destroy all, they forbid the Tilling of the Land, an Invention no Tyrant had ever thought of before; and did carry away with them all the Instruments of Husbandry belonging to the Natives. In a word, the Reins were let loose and free, to the Cruelty, Avarice, and Lasciviousness of their Soldiers; and that without confining their Disorders within the bounds of the proposed Occupation of *Alost* and some other Places to which they pretended a Right. All the Provinces of the Circle of *Burgundy*, the Duchies of *Limburg* and *Guelders*, not excepted, having been plundered by them; not sparing the Abbies,
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Monasteries, and other Places dedicated to God's Worship : and all this with an Inhumanity which had been well weighed by *Lewis de Neuforge*, his Catholick Majesty's Deputy in the Dyet of *Ratisbon*, when in the Congress on the 18th of *October* he said, *That in all the time of the last hot War, so great and so funestous Desolation had not been seen. The Contributions and Rapines executed in all parts by the French, with the violence of Arms, having amounted to many Millions.*

To hear and read this, tho' it is only touched upon here until a full and distinct Relation of all those Barbarities is published, which I understand is forming ; must, I am confident, move compassion in the hardest Bowels, seeing some of the very Executioners of those Barbarities did leave a Service which obliged them to divest their Natures of Humanity.

Now

Now amidst such Doings as these, who could have imagined that the Court of *France* should have reckoned all the other Courts of *Europe* to be so easie, that she should be able to perswade them, that by all those Invasions, Plunderings, and Cruelties, she had not violated the Peace? or that she should have thought, that it was possible to bring those Kingdoms and States, which were to be the greatest Sufferers by their Conquest of the *Low Countries*, to sit and look on all that they had done in them with the same Insensibility and Unconcernedness, as they would look on the Theatrical Representation of the Burning of *Troy*.

But that which confounded all People the most, and did appear to be an incredible Witchcraft to every one that saw it, was, that the *French* did not only pretend to impose this on the Court at
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London, but they succeeded in it, and were believed; though from that Court, *Spain*, founding her Hope on the Faith of Treaties, and on the known Interest of the Crown of *England*, and on the Laws of good Neighbourhood, and on the Maxims of the firmest Policy, should have expected the readiest and the most effectual Remedy.

The armed Ingress of the *French* into the *Low Countries* being now executed, and their Violence glutted with the Blood and Goods of those Subjects of *Spain*, the memorable and wonderful Relief of the City of *Vienna* happened, with the Destruction and Ruin of the greatest part of its Besiegers. The News of that, did rejoyce all Christendom to the degree that was notorious; the Court of *France* only excepted; the Countenances of whose Directors, if not their Habits, did wear Mourning for the

the Infidels which had been slain there, knowing, that that loss would, in all probability, be attended by the near Fall of the *Hungarian* Rebels, who had been so publickly supported with Counsel, Money, and Men from *France*; and which, besides other Evidences and Documents which there were of it, was proved in the Court of *Poland* by the Baron de *Zarowski*, the Imperial Resident there. For so far was *France* from giving any of those Demonstrations of the Joy wherewith all Christendom besides celebrated that important Victory, that they did all that was possible to retard the Intelligence that was given of it to the Court of *Spain*, which was so nearly concerned in it, on the Account both of the Publick, and of their own most august House; *France* having, on a frivolous Pretext, detained the Captain of Horse eight days who
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was dispatched with that News to the Marquis *de Grana*, and the Courier which brought the News from the Emperour himself, was stopped by them some Weeks. God knows, I take no pleasure in publishing such uncivil Detentions as are not used by any in a time of Peace, and especially having concurred in such a manner with such a glorious Exploit: but how can such steps escape me, which have been without any trouble examined and noted so publickly, as well of the *French* Envoys in their Negotiations, as of the *French* Troops in their Diversions and Expeditions, which were so opposite to that which conduced most to the common Good? the great Sums of Money having been as it were weighed before my eyes which were expended by the most Christian King, to have kindled a new War betwixt *Denmark* and *Sweden*,

den, and in other parts of the *North*, and in *Germany*, from whence the good Emperour might otherwise have expected Succors; and which was done at the same time when the Pope's repeated Breves, writ with Ink mingled with his sacred Tears, came to his hands, exhorting him to furnish something towards the immense Charge to which Christendom was obliged, by the great Power of the Infidels, and which was the greatest that the Oriental Tyrant had ever drawn together, or did ever send beyond his own Borders. He that has read thus far in this Paper, may very well imagine, that nothing more can be said of the enormous Procedure of *France*; and yet the most and the worst is still behind.

The almost general Oppression of the open Places in the *Low Countries* lasted all the Month of *September*,

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September, and part of October, the Violence of the Enemy being deaf to all the Sighs of so many innocent People, as well as to the Reasons which the Ministers in *Brussels* had caused to be represented to the Generals of *France* in their usurped Quarters, and to the King himself at *Paris*: and all sorts of pacifick Diligences for the Relief of the oppressed People having proved ineffectual, the Marquis de *Grana*, having first consulted the Catholick Court upon so difficult an Emergent, did resolve to send to the Governours of the Provinces, and Garisons, and to all Officers and Soldiers, and to all others under his Charge, his circular Order and Manifesto.

I shall not trouble the Reader with it; for, besides that it is very long, it contains little more than what has been noted; and having been in French, has been in most Peoples hands.

This

This Declaration of the Marquis *de Grana's* produced all the Effects which an Inferiority of Force is capable of working, saving that of the Reputation of Arms, against the Murmurs, and which were not altogether unjust, at their having for so long a time suffered their Vassals to be oppressed so terribly; without any other Denunciations, than Words and Complaints. It did likewise help to correct the ill Conceit and Admiration wherewith the neighbouring Potentates had looked on such a Sloth amidst so great Oppressions, and the Threats of greater; and especially in the *Hollanders*, who were wounded to the heart in the beginning, by the breach that had been made in *Alost*, on that Barrier which the unhappy Peace of *Nimeguen* had settled betwixt them and *France*, and who did therefore rejoyce to see the

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the *Spaniards* in earnest, and in a present Disposition to seek to have it repaired.

The *French*, who have their numerous and watchful Spies in all Countries, and who do serve their Master with a wonderful Fidelity, had observed that the *United Provinces* did hasten every thing towards the Complement of the Defensive League they were in with the *Spanish Low Countries*; and that if any more Insults were made, they would be compelled to go farther; and the Most Christian King finding himself vehemently urged by the Pope's Breves to give Peace to Christendom, and being also willing to make some shew of a Propension to comply with his Holiness, to deceive that Credulity which of all others was the farthest from the immense extension of the *French* Idea's; he did order the Count de *Avaux*,
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his Embassador extraordinary in the *Hague*, to give in a Paper to the *States* on the Fifth of *November*, which he was to second by word of mouth, to persuade them of the great Moderation of his most Christian Majesty, in contenting himself with any one of the five Means which were proposed by him for an Adjustment with *Spain*.

But it was not easie to put that Trick upon the chief Ministers of that powerful Republick, who had been so often warned of the Cant of such *Syrens*: so those Propositions having been considered by them, were looked on as the Expressions of one in a burning Fever, whose Thirst nothing can satisfy; and who, tho' he has promised, that if they will but give him one large Cup of Water, he will be contented with it; yet he has no sooner drank it, than he calls for another that

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is bigger. The Ministers of *Holland* did think fit therefore, to communicate that Paper to those of *Brussels*, and by them those discreet Remarks were made upon it, which were afterwards published in divers Tongues, with a particular List of all the Towns, Castles, Villages, and open Countries which had been openly usurped by the *French* in the Provinces of *Luxemburg*, *Flanders*, *Hanaut*, and *Namur*, since the suspension of Arms, and the Publication of the Peace of *Nimeguen*. But tho' I shall excuse myself from enlarging upon those matters; yet it being so proper to my Argument, I cannot forbear saying that Paper of the Count de *Avaux* did come upon the Stage with the accustomed Mask, of the Intention which his King has, and always had, of establishing a firm Peace, as well with the Emperor as with Spain, with Qualities convenient

nient to the Justice of his Pretensions, the Security of his Subjects, and the Tranquillity of all Europe: a Prologue adorned with such Appearances, that did wise Men govern themselves only by the out-sides of things, they would think they were invited by it, to come and see the Temple of *Janus* shut: but after a few Lines, on the contrary, they will find under this Grimace, five different means to keep Countries open, some very short Intervals only as we have seen of late Years excepted, until the boundless Circle drawn by *France* since the time of *Henry* the Fourth's having inherited her Crown, is filled; and whose Example and Maxims have, as is known, been with a fatal Steadiness proposed to his Grandson by the Directors of his Education.

The pretended Rights of *France* to *Alost* and its Chastellany, and to
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the old City of *Gaunt*, to the County of *Chiny*, and to the greatest part of the County of *Luxemburg* and to other Lands, have been examined; and it has been shew'd how *France* did, contrary to the Laws both of God and Man, take possession of them, and of all the Places contained in the List which his Catholick Majesty's Ministers have joined to their Remarks upon the Memorial of the Count *de Avaux*: wherefore since my Genius does not lead me to fill up my Writings with those of others, I shall not here insert that long List, but will take a shorter way: and having first set down the five bare Equivalents, with any one of which the Embassador of *France* said his most Christian Majesty would be content, in lieu of what he pretends does belong to him; I will afterwards shew to those who may not be so well informed in the matters of the Dependencies, the shameless

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lessness of all those Propositions, and which, should I omit it, would be an inexcusable inadvertency.

The first Equivalent proposed by *France*, was the City of *Luxemburg* as it is, or dismantled, with the few Villages and Houses which remained under its Jurisdiction, since the rest were siezed on by *France*.

The second was the Towns of *Dixmude* and *Courtray*, with their Dependencies, except the Town of *Deinse*, and its Dependencies, which shall remain to *Spain*, and the Fortifications of *Dixmude* and *Courtray*, may be demolished, and also the citadel of the last, and besides these, the Villages and Chastellany of *Aeth*, which were formerly united to the Government of *Courtray*, and also *Beaumont* and *Bovines*, with the Villages and Places of their Dependencies, which were reduced to

to four or five, since the rest were subjected to the obedience of the most Christian King, by the Possession which had been taken of them in his Name, before the Blockade of *Luxemburg* was raised, and finally *Chimay*, with its Dependencies.

Thirdly, that if the Catholick King had rather give to the most Christian, the said Equivalent, in *Catalonia*, or in *Navarre*; he would be satisfied with the Counties of *Cerdana*, *Camredon*, and *Castelfolit*, with their Dependencies.

Fourthly, with *Roses*, *Girona*, *Cap de Quiers*, with their Dependencies.

Fifthly, and in *Navar*, with *Pamplona*, *Fontarabia*, and their Dependencies.

Now considering every one of these Equivalents, which are as worthy of that Name, as nothing is of that of a substantial

being; they cannot but appear to every Reader, to have been framed by the proud Line of the Proposition, which the Sultan of the *Ottomans*, with his innumerable Forces, commanded to be made to the Emperor, if he would exempt himself from the War, he was prepared to make upon him, requiring him to deliver and yield up to him all that he possessed in Hungary, with all its Dependencies and Particularly the Fortresses of Raab and Komorra, the known Keys of his Patrimonial Estates, and of the Empire, and to dismantle all the Garrisons on his Frontiers, which might detain his Arms, when he should be pleased to make a farther Progress, besides an immense quantity of Money, for the expences he had been at in calling, listing, and marching his great Forces both in Asia and in Europe: The first part of this comparison, will justify it self to any one that will

will but be at the expence of half a quarter of an hour, to look on the Map of the Provinces and Kingdoms to whose extermination those Arbitrements of this most Violent and Artificial iniquity were directed.

As to *Luxemburgh* with how great an earnestness and obstinacy has the King of *France* laboured to facilitate his getting it, having during the Name of the Peace, but with all the Hostilities of the hottest War, usurped all that Country almost; and at the same time blocked up its Capital City, and who does not know, that not being content with *Brissack* the Gate of the Empire, which was so blindly left to the *French* by the Peace of *Westphalia*, and under whose shadow they have made themselves independent Lords of *Alsacia*, and of all the upper Rhine he does now not only aspire, but is opening

pening his way to do as much for the lower Rhine, that he may take *Cologne*, as he has done *Strasburgh*, with equal Titles, and equally opposite to the Constitutions of the Empire, and the Germanick Liberty; and who does not see, that by this Pace the Giant designeth to set his foot on the Throats of three Ecclesiastical Electors, and of the Palatine; and in the mean time he Bribes and Flatters *Brandenburgh*, and lulls *Saxony*, and *Bavaria* asleep, but how much soever she may dissemble it, *France* is certainly very angry with the last, for having retired so dextrously from under the engagements she had hampered his Predecessor in, so contrary to the true interest of his House; neither has her having married the Dauphin to that Elector's Sister, been able to gain him to her; after having been warned, by how much his Kinsman

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the Elector Palatine paid for the honour, as they call it, though the Palatine Blood does not yield to the best in *Europe*, of the Duke of *Orleans* having married his Daughter, *France* having soon after that was done, in true Friendship, and in the pure Confidence of kindred, taken one part of his Estate from him, and laid the other desolate. I do not hear, that that Elector was willing to have had his Forces diverted by the *French* from succouring the Emperor, nor is it to be imagined, that he, or any other of the Electors, should voluntarily any more surrender themselves, to one who labours so openly to make the Imperial Dignity hereditary in his House; and to extinguish the Election, upon the ridiculous pretence of his being successor to *Charles the Great*; which Title, if it could signifie any thing, would be of Advantage to the Houses of
Austria

Austria or of *Lorain*, rather than to the *Capetine* Line; which has no manner of Relation to it, notwithstanding the Passion, and flattery, of the Modern *French* Writers, have tired themselves in proving, all the three Lines which have reigned in *France* from the beginning of its Monarchy, to have derived their Original from that of the *Merovigian*.

Let the same attention, be apply'd to find, where the Barrier adjusted by the Peace of *Nimeguen* would be, if either of the Propositions touching the Low-Countries, were granted to the *French* and whether those relating to *Catalonia*, and *Navarre*, ought to be yielded, but in the extremity of a last despair; which may God never suffer to happ'n, to a Monarchy, that is the most firm Pillar of his Holy Faith, and the Sanctuary, and Seat where it reigns most secure, and shines in the Purity of the

true

true Religion; and were not her Enemies blinded by a barbarous Ambition, the last years Successes in *Austria* and *Hungary*, besides innumerable others which have happened at other times, would suffice to teach them, how little the most overgrown humane Power, is able to do against the Decrees of Heaven; on which Decrees, it is piously believed, the invincible perpetuity of the most *August* House of *Austria* stands; and whose Head being the Catholick King, his good and happy Subjects ought to hope, and his Enemies to fear daily, some of those Miracles from Heaven, which were wrought at *Vienna*, and near to *Bearkan*, and at *Strigonium*, and afterwards in so many parts in the *Ottoman* Empire, that we have reason to hope, that they were, and are all signs, of its total Declension.

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To return to the third of Facts; now that no reason had availed any thing to the putting of a stop to the Course of a most cruel War; and no time having been allowed for an Answer to the Memorial which had been given in by the Count *de Aunaux*, to the States General; so that had there been a disposition, to have granted one of those five Propositions, relating the Chimerical Equivalent; it would not have been possible as is manifest from the quality of them all, to have pitched on, and adjusted any one of them, before the Places were all lost which *France* had resolved to attack; for at the very same time that those Propositions were made to the States, by the *French* Ambassador, the Marshal *de Humiers* was on his march to sieze on those Places; neither did the Ambassador's Paper dissemble its being so; the City of *Courtray* and its citadel, having

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ving been first taken by that
 Marshal, and that of *Dispute*
 presently after; on which occa-
 sion as they that are living have
 great cause to lament, so future
 Ages will have no less cause to
 wonder at it; those only excep-
 ted who follow the Sect of the
 Scepticks, whose Opinion was;
 that our Senses may deceive us
 so, that it is possible, nay proba-
 ble, that Black may be White,
 and White Black; for is it not the
 very same, to call, not only Acts
 of Invasion and the Imposition of
 Contributions on the Estates of a
 Neighbour; with all the other
 Disorders which do constantly ac-
 company those Violences, a Peace;
 but to give the same name also,
 to the Besieging, Attaquing, and
 Battering, of Garrisons, with all
 the Formalities, and Stiles of War.
 However the States General, in
 the case of this violent and ruinous
 Motion were not Scepticks, not
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but that there were some of the Professors of that Doctrine among them, and who having to credit their Sect, perswaded and bought some Disciples, did move, *to have the Suspension continued longer ; that they might deliberate and resolve on assisting to quench the Fire that was in their Neighbour's houses, before it spread it self to theirs ;* but notwithstanding that, and all the Sophistries, wherewith the French endeavoured to palliate their Violences, the States did furnish the Troops agreed on in their defensive League with Spain, with which, Courtray and Dixmude being already lost, the rest of the Garrisons of the Barrier were reinforced.

Then it was, that Spain judging, that she could not without offence both to her Honour and her Conscience, delay any longer, the applying of all possible Remedies, to the deplorable Estates of
her

her oppressed Subjects, did determine to oppose Force, to so many repeated attempts commanding the Marquise de Grana, to cause the following Declaration to be published in *Brussels*; which was done on the Eleventh of *December*, and afterwards to notify it to all her Allies, of *Germany, England, and Holland.*

Otton

Otton Henriche Mar-
quise de Grana, y Delcar-
reto, Governour and Cap-
tain General of the Spanish
Low Countries, &c.

FRance not having since the
Treaty of Peace concluded
in Nimeguen, desisted from
breaking it with continual Vio-
lences, Invasions, and Usurpations,
during the said Peace, as is no-
torious to all Europe; having
particularly, from the first of Sep-
tember of this Year, caused to en-
ter into these Provinces divers Bo-
dies of Armies, which have sacked,
plundered, and made themselves
Ma-

Masters of divers Cities, Boroughs, and Villages; and have imposed and raised excessive Contributions, and undermined and ruined a great number of Edifices; and made many persons Prisoners, and executed every thing which they thought would make the People desperate: and that they might not omit any sort of Hostilities, they have besieged and taken the City and Citadel of Courtray, and the Town of Dixmude.

And our Lord the King, out of the great desire he had to have preserved the Peace, having done all that was possible, that there might be no alteration, and especially during the time that Christendom was wrestling with the Ottoman

Ottoman Empire, but without having been able to obtain it ; and his Majesty not having been able to suffer his good and loyal Subjects of these Countries to be any longer oppressed by the unheard-of Injustices and Violences of France, hath resolved to succour and defend them with all the Forces of his Monarchy, and hath ordained all his Viceroyes, Governours, and Captain Generals of his Kingdoms and Estates, to treat France and her Subjects with the same Rigors, and as Enemies to his Crown.

And in this Conformity, we do ordain all the Generals, Governours, and Commandants, and all other General Officers, and all
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Officers and Soldiers whatsoever,
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 whatsoever Nation they be, and
 all the other Officials and Sub-
 jects of his Majesty, to attack
 and pursue those of France in
 what part soever they find them, and
 all his Majesty's Subjects that are
 within the Dominions of France, to
 come out of them within fifteen
 days, reckoning from the time of
 the Publication of this present Or-
 dinance; and that they hold no
 Correspondence, Communication, or
 Commerce with the Subjects of
 France without our express per-
 mission: and all Officers and Sol-
 diers of Foot, and Horse, that
 are employed in the Service of
 France, or of any other foreign
 Prince,

Prince, that they do within a month put themselves under his Majesty's Banner and Standard, on pain of Confiscation of Body and Goods: And we do farther declare all Goods, moveable or fixed, and all Rents, Rights, Actions, Credits, and Effects belonging to the Subjects of France in these Countries, and on which we ordered an Embargo to be laid by an Ordinance of the eighteenth of November last, to be confiscated to his Majesty's Profit. And we do command all Subjects and Natives indifferently of the Crown of France, being within these Countries, to depart them, with their Wives, Children, and Families, within eight days after the Publication of
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this present Ordinance, upon pain of being made Prisoners of War, and being held as true Prisoners. And if it should happen that any Official or other Subject of his Majesty's shall harbour or conceal in their Houses, or any where else, any of the Subjects of France, they shall for the first Offence pay a thousand Pattacoons, and for the second two thousand, and for the third the Confiscation of all their Goods, with other Punishments according to the importance of the case; the one half of which Mulcts shall be given to the Informers, and the other half to the Officers that execute them.

And

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And that this Present may be
notorious to all, We ordain it to
be published and affixt so long
before, in the ordinary and accu-
stomed Form and Places.

Signed in Brussels,

Dec. 11. 1683.

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The Impressions, which were made by the News of this Manifesto in Foreign Courts, were various, according to their several Interests, and Passions, and the Posture their Affairs were in.

In *Germany* it found the Princes all Alarmed with the Preparations which were making, by the *French*, the *Danes*, and the *Turks*, and so in no Disposition to furnish the succours which were necessary.

In *England*, which is more interested than *Spain* her self, to conserve the low Countries under their lawful Lord, and which was obliged likewise by solemn Treaties to have succoured them; this Manifesto met with a *hardness* which no Representations of the Ambassador of *Spain*, Don *Pedro Ronquillo*, were able to soften, as has been made known to the World, by those discreet, and well grounded Papers, which were published by that Ambassador, for the

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discharge to his Ministry. Finally all Recourses being reduced to the single Republick of *Holland*, besides the Troops prescribed by the defensive League, she discouraged of augmenting her Forces by Land, for any contingency, with a new Levy of Sixteen 1000 Men, and that Proposition was admitted by all, except the City of *Amsterdam*, on which emergent, and the disputes which were upon it, it is needless for me enlarge, since no doubt can be made of so wise and watchful a Government, being able to distinguish betwixt the well minded, and the *Danaos*, *& dona ferentes*, who as they do insensibly insinuate themselves into all the Courts of *Europe*; so they do likewise into all its chief Cities, and which will be there attended with the same dangerous consequences, if the Fibers of their Artifices be not cut quickly. On the other side, the Pride
of

of *France*, which had been accustomed to do its will, without any controul, when it had received this wound, did roar all over Christendom; exclaiming against *Spain*, for having broke the Peace, which she herself had made a May-game of, before the Ink of its Ratifications was dry, and has done the same ever since; nevertheless *France* reckoned, that she might now justly let loose the last Reins to her Fury; and whereas her perjured Breaches, had from their beginning, had the City of *Luxemburgh* in their Eye, so now the Marshal *de Crequi* received a particular order, whilst *Hamiers*, and *Montal* with other Bodies, did take other ways to glut their inhumanity, to march with ten thousand Men, and six thousand Bombs, to that City, being resolved to make such a Bonfire of it, as should consume every thing that was in

it, animate and inanimate. The truth is considering their Forces their having miscarried in that attempt, was not owing so much to any humane Diligences, as to the Providence of Heaven, which by that means permitted the Loyalty of such exemplary Subjects to be tryed and manifested, at the cost of few Lives; that hel-lish Enterprize having ended in a shameful retreat; and, which is worthy of such Warriors to whom that was to far from being a warning, that it was a new Spur to their Calumnies for after this they had the impudence to propagate, the Equivocal absurdity of *Spain's* having first broke the Treaty of *Nimagueu*; and that it was the *Spaniards* that hindred that Union of Christians against the common Enemy, which the Holy and Universal Pastor had so much desired and solicited; in fine, the most Christian King
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having after the famous Successes of the *Cossacks* against the *Tartars* and *Turks*, been admonished afresh, to grant, so great a Benefit to Christendom, and which depended wholly on his Will; that King excused himself, with the forementioned Declaration, and in such Terms, that he had almost perswaded the Court of *Rome* to believe, the strangest and most inconsistent Paradox, that any Imagination ever formed. As if he who had usurped one entire Province almost, and a great part of three more, and who had made such great Devastations in the Low-Countries, were not the Person who with the Trumpet of Peace, had begun a War, or as if the Declaration of War; consisted less in making it, than in proclaiming it, and as if in *Rome*, and at the same time in *Ratisbon*, *Vienna*, *London*, and the *Hague*, the Ministers

of the Catholick King, had not with Authentick Instruments, and which were beyond exception, from time to time represented the atrocity of those Cases, and the Barbarous ruins with which the *French* had, peaceably according to their Ironical Language, plagued the Low-Countries, still offering on his Catholick Majesty's part, the greatest readiness, within the amicable lines prescribed by Treaties, towards an adjustment of all that *France* pretended to; and did likewise protest against the violent Resolutions, which such cruel and repeated Violences would compel them to take, if they that were interested in the Peace of *Europe*, and were bound both by divine and humane Laws to it, did not take some effectual Course to put a stop to those Violences, by reducing the disturbers of the Peace so, as to compel them to desist from

from any New attempts, and to make Reparation for those they had executed.

Notwithstanding all this, as we understand from Spain by the last Post from thence, and as I was concluding this Paper, the Cardinal *Melini*, the Apostolical Nuncio to his Catholick Majesty, did on the first of *February*, present a Breve of his Holiness's, intimating, *the great grief which the Declaration of War betwixt Spain and France, had given him, and exhorting them to conclude either a Peace or a Truce, though they did sacrifice something to the benefit of Christendom:* And on which supposition the Cardinal Nuncio having enlarged much in the Conference he had the third of *Feb.* with the Marquiss of *Astorga*, who was appointed to treat with him; his Catholick Majesty was pleased to return the following Answer to that Breve.

That the supposition he had made of his Majesty's having begun a War; was intirely contrary to the Authority of matter of Fact, the many insults made by the *French* during the whole time of the Peace, being notorious to all the World, as it was also, that the present motion of his Majesty's Arms was solely in the mere natural defence of his invaded Dominions, and of his Subjects, who were ruined by undue Contributions, unjust Plunderings, and Barbarous burnings, and that thereby his Majesty had been disabled from assisting the Emperor in the defence of Christendom; for his own House being on Fire; he was not at leisure to help to extinguish the Fire in his Neighbours; all his Forces having been by the Arms of the most Christian King, imploy'd so about his indispensable Obligation, of protecting his own poor Subjects,

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jects, that he had none at Liberty to oppose the common danger, which had threatned all the rest, which danger was moved and solicited, in the most Critical conjuncture of *Europe*, by the same Prince that supported it afterwards, by such scandalous diversions in *Germany*, and in the *North*, sometimes with executions, and sometimes with the threats of his Arms; and in the other Courts, which his Violences could not reach, with frauds, negotiations, and corruptions, for which reason by how much the greater the Violence was with which his Majesty for the good of *Christendom*, did with an unprecedented example of Piety, dissemble so many insults by so much the more he would be disabled, by continuing to suffer such things, from concurring hereafter to that which his Holiness solicited so much, and as
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to which no fault could be attributed to his Majesty, who having suffered so long, did at last defend himself when he was invaded; but to him, who against the Faith of a Peace, and of Publick Conventions, and against the Sacred Words of Kings, and the Laws of Nations, despising Treaties, had conquered Provinces, plundered Countries, and robbed Churches, and who in a Word, was become the publick Incendiary of Places; and that at the same time, when the *Turks*, though with less cruelty, attacked the Christian Provinces, as may be proved by the Facts of the signal days, on which the motions of the *Ottoman* Forces did visibly correspond with those of the Troops of *France*, the Operations of the most Christian King, in siezing on *Strasburgh*, and in the Encampments on the Rivers of the *Saare* and the *Soane*, and

at- and in the Marches of three Ar-
 ha- mies at once, to the Frontiers of
 last *Flanders*; did by concert, go
 s in- hand in hand with those of the
 inst *Turk*, when he began to march,
 Pub- and when he laid siege to *Vien-*
 inst *na*, and when that City was
 ngs, ready to have been surrendered;
 de- that his Majesty cannot forbear
 ered to put his Eminency in mind
 ries, of this, that so his Holiness be-
 who ing rightly informed of all that
 the has been done, might consider,
 and that the General Offices which
 the now pass in his Holiness's Name,
 elty, have much less grounds as to his
 nces, Majesty, than they would have
 acts had, if they had passed before
 the with the *French*, on the foremen-
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 s the defence, since his Holiness from
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that things would be brought to this pass, and that he that disturbed *Europe*, was he that encouraged the *Turk*, and solicited the *Hungarian* Rebels, and that disturbed the Union and Conformity of the Diet of *Poland*; and did endeavour with all his Force, and with that of his Maxims, to debilitate the Forces of Christendom, that he might further in it, his scandalous Usurpations, which are so contrary to all the Laws of God and Man. Now considering this, and that his Majesty is under a precise Obligation to defend himself, these Instances of his Holiness's, ought to have been applied to the most Christian, who was single in what he executed, and which he did Voluntarily; his Holiness ought also, to have done that himself, which he persuades others to; for though it is true, that he did succour

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the Empire liberally, yet it would have been a much greater Assistance to have given beginning to the League of *Italy*, in order to have maintained an Universal Peace, and to have opposed those who should have disturbed it, with such Noxious effects, as those were which they had experienced, and which League was the only Bridle he could put into the mouth of the boundless Ambition of the *French*, in the Map of their Ideas, and in the Lines which they have drawn from the Center of their insatiable Maxims, to the Circumferences of all their interests, and to the ruine of the Princes of *Europe*; into this Union his Majesty was ready to have entered, and from a certain foresight of the things that have since happened, he did often urge the Court of *Rome* to it, and to which if his Holiness, at the first

first instances which were made to him, had agreed, things had never been reduced to the extremity they are in; such a League being indisputably, the most effectual means for to obtain that which his Holiness so much desires, and on the security of that only, he would be able to oppose the common Enemy, and to secure the Church, and to assist the Emperor, and to have moderated the Diversions which have been made in favour of the *Turks*; and succour the tottering Estate of Christianity; that his Majesty could not hear this, that had been offered without a special Resentment nor forbear retorting it, since it was so, that when the *French* had executed so many Insults, Usurpations, Burnings, and Sacrileges, and all at the same time, when the *Ottoman* Troops did march, and lay Siege to *Vienna*; his Holiness' mind

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mind should not then have moved him to have cut all those Violences short, and now when his Majesty has begun to put himself in a posture of Defence against unjust Hostilities, and when they who had begun the War, had taken Possession of intire Provinces, and Towns, his Holiness should presently, propose to him an absolute Truce, without Conditions, and so to leave the *French* in the Possession of all that they have usurped, and of which his Majesty desires only a Reintegration, in Observance of a Peace, which, though it cost his Majesty so dear, was so solemn and General as that of *Nimwegen*.

To such proper Expressions of the most constant Truth; it would be rashness to add any thing else, but Prayers to the Divine Majesty, beseeching him to inspire the Ministers assembled at the
Hague,

Hague, to confer about such important matters, as those are, the Peace of *Europe* depends on; with what shall be most convenient, and to give such Force to their Resolutions, that they may readily advance his Holy Service against the common Enemy.

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**The ARTICLES PRELIMINARY
to the Treaties of a General
PEACE.**

1. **A** Good, firm, and lasting Peace, Confederacy, and perpetual Alliance and Amity, shall be forthwith treated and establish'd between his Imperial Majesty, with all and each of his Imperial Majesty's Allies (principally the Kingdom of *Great Britain*, and the Lords the States General of the united Provinces) on the one Part, and his most Christian Majesty with his Allies on the other Part. And seeing the present Conjunctures have not permitted his Imperial Majesty to take previously the Approbation and Consent of the Empire, upon all

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that relates to it, in several Articles contain'd in these Preliminaries, His Imperial Majesty shall endeavour to procure, according to the Usage establish'd in the Empire, as soon as possible, the Consent and Ratification of the said Empire, before the Execution of the Articles which particularly concern the Empire.

2. And to attain this good End speedily, and to enjoy it as much as possible, from this Time Preliminary Articles are agreed, to serve for a Foundation of the Treaties of a General Peace.

3. First, In Consideration and in Consequence of the said good Peace, and sincere Union of all the Parties, the most Christian King shall from this Time acknowledge publicly and authentickly, as also afterwards in the Treaties of Peace to be made, King *Charles* the third, in the Quality of King of *Spain*, the *Indies*, *Naples* and *Sicily*, and generally of all the Territories dependant and

comprehended under the Name of the Monarchy of *Spain*, in what Part of the World soever situate; (except what is to be given to the Crown of *Portugal* and the Duke of *Savoy*, pursuant to the Treaties between the High Allies, and the Barrier in the Netherlands, which the said King *Charles III.* is to put into the Hands of the said Lords the States General of the United Provinces, agreeably to the Tenour of the Grand Alliance in the Year 1701. except also what shall be hereafter mentioned touching the Upper Quarter of *Gelderland*, and also except the Agreements yet to be made with the said King *Charles III.* without excepting any Thing more.) Together with all the Rights which the late King *Charles II.* did possess, or ought to have possess'd, as well for himself as his Heirs and Successors, according to the Will of *Philip IV.* and the Compacts establish'd

and receiv'd in the most Serene House of *Austria*.

4. And forasmuch, as the Duke of *Anjou* is at present in Possession of a great Part of the Kingdoms of *Spain*, of the Coasts of *Tuscany*, the *Indies*, and Part of the *Netherlands*, 'tis reciprocally agreed, that for the sure Execution of the said Articles, and of the Treaties of Peace to be made, the said Treaties shall be finish'd within the Term of two Months, to begin from the first Day of the ensuing Month of *June*, if possible; during which Time his most Christian Majesty shall so order it, that the Kingdom of *Sicily* shall be put into the Possession of his Catholick Majesty *Charles III.* And the said Duke shall depart in full Safety and Freedom out of the Limits of the Kingdoms of *Spain*, with his Consort, the Princes his Children, their Effects, and generally all Persons who are willing to follow them: And if before the said

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faid Term expire, the faid Duke of *Anjou* does not consent to the Execution of the present Agreement, the most Christian King, and the stipulating Princes and States, shall by Concert take proper Measures that it may have intire Effect, and that all *Europe* may, by the full Performance of the said Treaties of Peace, speedily enjoy perfect Tranquility.

5. To facilitate the Establishment of that Tranquility, his most Christian Majesty shall within the Term of the two Months withdraw the Troops and Officers he has now in *Spain*, and also those he has in the Kingdom of *Sicily*, as well as in the other Countries and Territories depending on the said Monarchy in *Europe*, and from the *Indies* as soon as possible; promising on the Faith and Honour of a King, not to send henceforward to the Duke of *Anjou* (if he refuse to acquiesce with this) or to his Adherents, any Succour, whether of Troops, Artillery, Ammunition,

munition, or Money, directly or indirectly.

6. The Monarchy of *Spain* shall remain intire in the House of *Austria*, in the Manner abovementioned. None of its Members shall ever be dismember'd; neither shall the said Monarchy, in whole, or in Part, be united to that of *France*, nor shall one and the same King, or a Prince of the House of *France*, ever become Sovereign thereof, in any Manner whatsoever, either by Will, Legacy, Succession, Marriage-Compact, Donation, Sale, Contract, or any other Way whatever: No King who shall reign in *France*, nor any Prince of the House of *France*, shall ever reign in *Spain*, or acquire, within the Extent of the said Monarchy, any Towns, Forts, Places, or Countries in any Part of it, especially in the Netherlands, by virtue of any Donation, Sale, Exchange, Marriage-Compact, Inheritance, Legacy, Succession by a Will,

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Will, or in Default of a Will, in whatever Kind or Manner soever, either for himself, or for the Princes his Sons or Brothers, or their Heirs and Descendants.

7. Particularly and especially, *France* shall never become possess'd of the *Spanish Indies*, nor send Ships thither to exercise Commerce, under any Pretext whatever.

8. His most Christian Majesty being willing to give sure Proofs of the Intention he has to maintain a firm and lasting Peace, and to put an End to all Umbrage of his Designs, consents to deliver up to his Imperial Majesty and the Empire the City and Citadel of *Strasbourg*, in the Condition they are now in, with the Fort of *Kehl*, and its Dependancies and Appurtenances, situate on either Side of the *Rhine*; without any Demand of Cost or Expences, under what Pretext soever; with 100 Pieces of Brass Cannon of different Sizes; that is to say,

50 Pieces, some Twenty Four, some Twelve Pounders, and 50 Pieces, some of Eight some of Four Pound Ball, and Ammunition in Proportion: To be re-establish'd in the Rank, Prerogatives, and Privileges of an Imperial City, which it enjoy'd before it came under the Dominion of his most Christian Majesty: Which said City of *Strasbourg*, and its Forts, shall be deliver'd up and evacuated immediately after the Ratifications of the Emperour and Empire shall be exchanged at the *Hague*; and on the Appearance, at the Gates of the said City and Forts of *Strasbourg*, of some Person authoriz'd by a full Power from his Imperial Majesty and the Empire, in the usual Form, to take Possession of them.

9. That the Town of *Brisac*, with its Territory, shall be evacuated by his most Christian Majesty, and by him restor'd to his Imperial Majesty and the House of *Austria*;

with

with all the Cannon, Artillery and Stores of War that shall be found in it; by the End of *June* at farthest; To be henceforward enjoy'd by his Imperial Majesty as his own Propriety, so as his Imperial Majesty has enjoy'd and ought to have enjoy'd it, in Execution of the Treaty of Peace concluded at *Ryswick*; with the Cannon, Artillery, and warlike Stores now in it.

10. His most Christian Majesty shall from henceforward, possess *Alsace* in the literal Sense of the Treaty of *Munster*; so that he shall content himself with the Right of Prefecture over the Ten Imperial Towns of the said *Alsace*, yet without extending the said Right to the Prejudice of the Prerogatives and Rights belonging to them in common with other free Towns of the Empire; and he shall enjoy his said Right, together with the Prerogatives, Revenues, and Demesnes, in such manner as his said Majesty ought to have enjoy'd

joy'd them, from the Time of the Conclusion of the said Treaty, putting the Fortifications of the said Towns into the same Condition they were in at that Time; excepting the Town of *Landau*, the Possession and Propriety of which, shall belong for ever to his Imperial Majesty, and the Empire, with Power to demolish the said Place, if the Emperor and Empire shall think fit.

11. In Consequence of the said Treaty of *Munster*, his said most Christian Majesty shall, within the Time agreed, cause to be demolish'd at his own Expence, the Fortified Places he has at present on the *Rhine* between *Basil* and *Philipsburgh*, namely *Huningen*, *New Brisac*, and *Fort Louis*, with all the Works belonging to the said Fort on each side of the *Rhine*, so that they may never be rebuilt hereafter.

12. That the Town and Castle of *Rhynfels*, with their Dependancies, shall be possess'd by the Land-

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grave of *Hesse Cassel*, till it shall be agreed otherwise.

13. The Queen of *Great Britain*, and the Lords the States General affirming, that the Clause inserted in the Fourth Article of the Treaty of *Ryswick*, relating to Religion, is contrary to the Tenour of the Peace of *Munster*, and consequently ought to be repeal'd, 'tis thought fit, that this Affair shall be referr'd to the Negociation of the General Peace.

14. As to *Great Britain*, his most Christian Majesty shall from this Time, and in the Negociation of the Treaties of Peace to be made, acknowledge the Queen of *Great Britain* in that Quality.

15. His said Majesty shall also acknowledge the Succession of the Crown of *Great Britain* in the Protestant Line, as 'tis settled by Acts of the Parliament of *Great Britain*.

16. The most Christian King shall deliver up to the Crown of *Great Britain* what *France* possesses in the Island

Island of *Newfoundland*; and on the Part of the Queen of *Great Britain*, as well as on the Part of his most Christian Majesty, all the Countries, Islands, Ports and Colonies, which have been possess'd by the Arms of either Side, during the present War, in what Part soever of the *Indies* situate, shall be mutually restor'd.

17. His said Majesty promises to cause all the Fortifications of the Town of *Dunkirk*, its Harbour and Rysbanks with what belongs thereto, to be raz'd at his Expence, without Exception, so that one Half of the said Fortifications shall be raz'd, and one Half of the Harbour fill'd up within the Space of two Months, and the other Half of the Fortifications shall be raz'd, as well as the other Half of the Harbour fill'd up in the Space of two Months more, to the Satisfaction of the Queen of *Great Britain*, and of the Lords the States General of the United Provinces; Nor shall it be permitted ever

to

to rebuild the Fortifications, or make the Harbour navigable again directly or indirectly.

18. The Person who pretends to be King of *Great Britain*, having desir'd to depart the Kingdom of *France*, and so to prevent the Demand which the Queen of *Great Britain* and the *British* Nation have made, shall retire into such Country, and in such Manner as by the next ensuing Treaty of a general Peace shall be agreed, as to the Means of his Retiring.

19. In the principal Negotiation of the Treaties to be made, Care shall be taken to settle a Treaty of Commerce with *Great Britain*.

20. As to the King of *Portugal*, his most Christian Majesty shall consent, that he shall enjoy all the Advantages stipulated in his Favour, by the Treaties made between him and his Allies.

21. His Majesty shall acknowledge the King of *Prussia* in that Quality

Quality, and promise not to disturb him in the Possession of the Principality of *Neufchatel*, and of the County of *Valengin*.

22. And as to the Lords the States-General, His Majesty shall yield and make over to them, in the most express Terms that shall be judg'd proper, the Place of *Furnes* with its District (the Fort of *Knocque* being therein included), *Menin* with its Verge, *Tpres* with its Castellany and Dependancies, which from henceforward shall be *Bailleu* or *Belle*, *Warleton*, *Comines*, *Werwick*, *Poperingen*, and what depends on the Places above-mention'd, (the Town and Castellany of *Cassel* remaining to his most Christian Majesty,) *Lisle* with its Castellany, (the Town and Government of *Doway* to be excepted) *Conde*, and *Maubeuge*, with all their Dependancies; the whole in such Condition as the said Places are at present, and particularly with the Cannon, Artillery and Stores of War therein;

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therein ; to serve, with the rest of the *Spanish Netherlands*, for the Barrier of the said Lords the States General, upon which they may agree with the said King *Charles*, according to the Tenour of the Grand Alliance, as well with Regard to the Garrisons which the said Lords the States General shall maintain therein, as to all other Things in the *Spanish Netherlands*, and particularly as to their having in Propriety and Sovereignty the Upper Quarter of *Gelderland* according to the 52d Article of the Treaty of *Munster* in the Year 1648, as from time to time they shall think fit. But 'tis understood, that if there is a general Magazine in *Tournay*, the Quantity and Quality of the Artillery and Ammunition to be left in the said Place, shall be agreed.

23. His most Christian Majesty shall also deliver up all the Towns, Forts, and Places which he shall have possess'd himself of in the *Spanish Netherlands*, in the Condition they

are now in, with their Cannour Artillery and Warlike Stores. But 'tis understood, that if since the Troops of the most Christian King enter'd *Namure*, any Magazine has been Erected, or Stores of Artillery and Ammunition laid up in that Town and Castle more than for their Defence, they shall be remov'd by the Officers of his most Christian Majesty, in Concert with those of the States General, at the Time of Evacuation, which shall not on this Account be retarded, but shall be done within the Time that shall be limited; the whole on this expresse Condition, That the Roman Catholick Religion shall be maintain'd in all the said Places to be deliver'd up, and in their Dependancies, in the same manner as 'tis now establish'd there; except, that the Garrisons of the States may exercise their own Religion, as well in the Places yielded and made over for enlarging the Barrier, as in the Places of the *Spanish* Netherlands that are to be restor'd. 24. And

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24. And to the End that this Agreement may have its full Effect, his most Christian Majesty promises not to cause to be remov'd from this Time any Cannon, Artillery, or Ammunition, out of the Towns and Forts which are to be restor'd and yielded up by Virtue of these Articles.

25. His Majesty shall grant to the said Lords the States General, in relation to their Commerce, what is stipulated by the Treaty of *Ryswick*, the Tariff (or Book of Rates) of 1664, the Suppression of the Tariffs made since, the Revocation of the Edicts, Declarations and Arrests posterior to them, contrary to the said Tariff of 1664. and also the Abolition of the Tariff made between *France* and the said Lords the States General, the 29th of *May*, 1699. So that, with Respect to them, the Tariff of the Year 1664. only shall be of Force. And all *Dutch* Vessels, trading in the Ports of

of *France*, shall be exempted from paying the Tonnage-Duty of 50 Sols per Ton.

26. After the Signing of the Treaties of Peace, his Majesty shall acknowledge the Ninth Electorate in Favour of his erected Electoral Highness of *Hanover*.

27. The Duke of *Savoy* shall be reinstated in the Possession of the Dutchy of *Savoy*, the County of *Nice*, and of all the other Places and Countries hereditarily belonging to him, and of which his said Majesty shall have possess'd himself by his Arms, during the Course of the present War, without any Reservation; his Majesty consenting besides, that his Royal Highness shall enjoy all the Countries, Territories and Places, which have been yielded and made over to him by the Emperour and his Allies.

28. That the King make over to the Duke of *Savoy* the Propriety and Sovereignty of the Towns of *Exilles*,

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Fenestrelles, and *Chaumont*, now possess'd by the Arms of his Royal Highness; together with the Valley of *Pragelas*; as also whatever lies on this Side the *Genevre* and other Mountains, so that from henceforward the said Mountains may serve for a Barrier and Limits between the Kingdom of *France*, and the Principality of *Piemont*.

29. As to the late Electors of *Cologne* and *Bavaria*, their Demands and Pretensions shall be referr'd to the Negotiation of the Treaties of Peace: And the Dispositions and Decrees of his Imperial Majesty and the Empire, made and issued during this War, shall be maintain'd, with respect to his Electoral Highness Palatine, who shall remain in Possession of the Upper Palatinate, the County of *Cham*, and the Rank and Dignity with which he has been invested by his Imperial Majesty; as also with respect to what has been done in Favour of the Imperial
Town

Town of *Donawert*, and to several other Dispositions of that Nature. And for what relates to the Garrisons, which on the Part of the Lords the States General may be plac'd in the Town of *Hay*, the Citadel of *Liege*, and the Town of *Bon*, they shall remain there, till an Agreement otherwise be made with his Imperial Majesty and the Empire.

30. And for removing all Doubts touching the Execution of the said Articles, and to hasten the Execution of them, upon which depends the Re-establishment of the general Tranquillity, and of reciprocal Confidence and Amity between the Parties.

31. 'Tis agreed, that the further Demands, which the Emperour, the Queen of *Great Britain*, and the said Lords the States General, may make in the Negotiation of the General Peace, as well as the most Christian King, shall not interrupt the

the Cessation of Arms which will be mentioned in a subsequent Article.

32. As for the Empire, the Four associated Circles, the King of Portugal, the King of Prussia, the Duke of Savoy, and other Allies, they shall be free to make in the said general Congress, such Demands (besides what is above granted to them) as they shall think convenient.

33. The general Negotiation shall be finish'd, if possible, within two Months, as is aforesaid.

34. And to the End the said Negotiation may be the better terminated, within the Space of the said two Months, and that upon the Execution of the said Articles the Peace may immediately be made, it is agreed, that there shall be a Cessation of Arms between the Armies of all the Parties who are at War, to commence every where, as soon as the Conclusion of the said Articles shall come to the Knowledge

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of

of the said Parties at present in War.

35. The most Christian King, to give Proofs of his Desire and Inclination to put a speedy End to this Bloody War, promises, immediately after the Conclusion and Ratification of the said Articles, to evacuate, as is abovesaid, in the *Netherlands*, the Towns of *Namur*, *Mons*, and *Charleroy*, before the 15th of June next, *Luxembourg*, *Conde*, *Tourmay*, and *Maubeuge* within 15 Days after; and before the 15th of July, the Towns of *Newport*, *Furnes*, with *Fort Knocque*, and *Ypres*; and before the Expiration of those two Months, to raze and fill up (as is above stipulated) the Fortifications and Harbour of *Dunkirk*; the delivering up of *Strasbourg* and the Fort of *Kehl*, being referr'd to the Stipulation of the 8th Article.

36. His most Christian Majesty promises likewise, from the time of the said Conclusion, and before the Expira-

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Expiration of the two Months after it, to execute all that has been formerly stipulated with respect to the other Allies.

37. And in case the King of *France* executes all that is above-mention'd, and that the whole Monarchy of *Spain* be deliver'd up and yielded to K. *Charles III.* as is stipulated by these Articles, within the limited Term, 'tis agreed, that the Cessation of Arms between the Parties in War, shall continue till the Conclusion and Ratification of the Treaties of Peace which are to be made.

38. All this shall serve for the Basis and Foundation of the Treaties of Peace to be made, which shall be drawn up in the most ample Forms that have usually been observ'd in Treaties of Peace, with Respect to Cessions, Successions, Renunciations, Dependancies and Appendages, Evacuation of Cannon, Artillery, and Stores of War, Gallies,

leys, Crews serving in Gallies, without Cost and Charges, and the like things.

39. The Ratification of the Preliminary Articles above specified, shall be furnish'd and exchange'd on the Part of the most Christian King, the Queen of *Great Britain*, and the Lords the States General, before the 15th of *June* next; on the Part of the Emperour, by the 1st of *July* following; and of the Empire as soon as possible: And upon the Delivery of the said Ratifications of the Queen of *Great Britain*, and the Lords the States General, the Execution of what is stipulated touching the Evacuation of the Places, which his most Christian Majesty is to restore and yield up in the Netherlands, as also touching the Demolition of the Town of *Dunkirk*, and the filling up of its Harbour, and every Thing granted to the said Potentates, shall immediately be set about, and perform'd out of Hand:

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The like Execution shall take Place, with respect to what is stipulated in Favour of the Emperour and King *Charles III.* after his Imperial Majesty's Ratification; and all that relates to the Empire shall be executed, after the Ratification of the said Empire shall be exchange'd: As to the other Allies, the Articles that concern them shall be executed, after they have acquiesc'd with, sign'd and ratify'd the said Articles.

40. And to hasten the Conclusion of the Treaties of a General Peace, 'tis agreed, that on the 15th of *June* next, the Congress shall begin in this Place of the *Hague*: And all Kings, Princes, and States in the Alliance, and others, shall be invited to send hither their Ministers Plenipotentiaries: And to prevent all Difficulties and Disputes about the Ceremonial; and to forward as much as possible the Conclusion of the General Peace, those of the said Ministers, who shall have the Character

rafter of Ambassadors, shall not declare it till the Day of Signing the Treaties of the said Peace.

Done, concluded, and sign'd by the Plenipotentiaries of his said Imperial Majesty, of her Majesty the Queen of *Great Britain*, and of the Lords the States General of the United Provinces, with the Ministers Plenipotentiaries of his most Christian Majesty, in the *Hague*, the 28th of *May*, 1709.

Eugene of Savoy.	The Prince and	Welderem.
Philip Lewis	Duke of Marlbo-	
Count Sinzen-	rough.	
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Wil. Buys.

Van Duffen.

PRE-

PRELIMINARY ARTICLES *on the*
Part of France, for effecting
a General PEACE.

THE King, being willing to contribute all that is in his Power, to the Re-establishment of the general Peace; his Majesty declares,

1. That he will acknowledge the Queen of *Great Britain* in that Quality, as also the Succession of that Crown according to the present Settlement.

2. That he will freely and *bona fide* consent to the taking of all just and reasonable Measures, for hindering that the Crowns of *France* and *Spain* may never be united on the Head of the same Prince, His Majesty

jeſty being perſwaded, that this Exceſs of Power would be contrary to the Good and Quiet of *Europe*.

3. The King's Intention is, that all the Parties engag'd in the preſent War, without excepting any of them, may find their reaſonable Satisfaction in the Treaty of Peace which ſhall be made. That Commerce may be re-eſtabliſh'd and maintain'd for the future, to the Advantage of *Great Britain*, of *Holland*, and of the other Nations who have been accuſtomed to exerciſe Commerce.

4. As the King will likewise maintain exactly the Obſervation of the Peace, when it ſhall be concluded, and the Object the King propoſes to himſelf being to ſecure the Frontiers of his Kingdom, without diſturbſing in any Manner whatever the neighbouring States, he promiſes to agree by the Treaty which ſhall be made, that the *Dutch* ſhall be put into Poſſeſſion of the fortified Places,

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Places, which shall be mentioned in the Netherlands, to serve hereafter for a Barrier, which may secure the Quiet of the Republick of *Holland*, against any Enterprize from the Part of *France*.

5. The King consents likewise, that a secure and convenient Barrier should be form'd for the Empire, and for the House of *Austria*.

6. Notwithstanding *Dunkirk* cost the King very great Sums, as well to acquire it, as to fortifie it; and that 'tis further necessary to be at very considerable Expences for razing the Works, his Majesty is willing however to engage to cause them to be demolished immediately after the Conclusion of the Peace, on Condition, that for the Fortifications of that Place a proper Equivalent, that may content him, be given him; and as *England* cannot furnish that Equivalent, the Discussion of it shall be referred to the Conferences to be held for the Negociation of the Peace.

7. When

7. When the Conferences for the
Negotiation of the Peace shall be
form'd, all the Pretensions of the
Princes and States engag'd in the
present War, shall be therein dis-
cuss'd *bonâ fide* and amicably: And
nothing shall be omitted to regulate
and terminate them to the Satisfa-
ction of all the Parties.

By Virtue of a full Power from
the King, We the undersigned
Knight of his Order of St. Michael
Deputy of the Council of Com-
merce, have concluded in the Name
of his Majesty, the present Prelimi-
nary Articles. In Witness whereof
we have sign'd. **DONE AT LON-
DON, the 27th of September, O. S.
and the 8th of October, N. S. 1711.**

(L. S.)

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